THE

RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW,

AND

Historical and Antiquarian MAGAZINE.

EDITED BY

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THE

Retrospective Review.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. I.—PART I.

A Collection of Letters from the Original Manuscripts of many Princes, Great Personages, and Statesmen, together with some curious and scarce Tracts and Pieces of Antiquity, Religious, Political, and Moral. By L[eonard] Howard, D.D. Rector of St. George's, Southwark, and Chaplain to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales. London, printed for the Author, MDCCLIII.—*4to.*

IN commencing with this volume the series of critical notices which we purpose laying before our readers, of Collections of Letters illustrative of English History, we have been influenced much more by its being comparatively unknown, even by those whose studies would render them the most likely to be acquainted with it, than by any particular claim which it possesses to attention. But, besides this circumstance, the extraordinary way in which its contents are thrown together, and the cause that produced its publication, combine to render the work a sort of literary curiosity which would alone entitle it to a place in the "Retrospective Review." But, notwithstanding the trash which fills a large portion of its pages, several articles of a redeeming character will be found; and a few of them do not yield in interest to many which occur in far more popular "Collections." These it will of course be our duty to extract; and though the space which can be appropriated to the purpose is very limited, we shall, we believe, present our readers with the entire kernel, leaving little but husk and shell behind.

It may perhaps be expected, on expressing our intention of noticing a "Collection of Letters and Papers illustrative of

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English History" in each number, that something should be said in explanation of our motive and our plan.

A few sentences will convey all that is necessary on both. Of the deep interest, as illustrations of the domestic manners, the customs, and state of society in past ages, as well as of the historical importance of such "letters;" and of the lively and faithful picture which they exhibit of all which is interesting respecting our ancestors, it would be a waste both of our own and our readers' time to dilate. They are highly estimated by all who understand their value: but they are so numerous, and, generally speaking, embrace such various periods of English history, that we flatter ourselves we shall perform an acceptable service by bringing each "Collection" to the notice of the public; and, by explaining the nature of the documents they contain, the time to which they relate, and their particular merits, render these works more extensively known and more justly appreciated. Nor will these attempts merely be useful; for, by extracting the most valuable or amusing letters, we trust to render our articles on the subject both of varied and general interest, not only to the historian or the antiquary, whose memories we can only expect to refresh, but to numerous individuals who, from the want of time, or other pursuits, have been prevented from perusing the volumes themselves.

Thus much for our motive, in the explanation of which we have also said nearly all that is necessary with respect to our plan. Indeed, nothing more need be remarked on the subject, than that we shall be guided by convenience only, in the works which we may from time to time select; that we shall dwell longest on those which are the least known and most deserving of attention; and that we hope to present a minute bibliographical account of this most important branch of historical and antiquarian literature.

It appears that Dr. Howard's "Collection" was formed with the sole object of fulfilling an engagement to publish a work of a similar kind, the materials for which were destroyed by fire; and that the necessary delay in providing sufficient matter to replace them, exposed him to much obloquy and reproach, he having received money from his subscribers. He says,

"I should be wanting to myself in not giving the true reasons for their being so long postponed, and clearing myself from the cruel, I was going to say, unchristian accusations of my enemies, viz. that *this Work* never *would*, never *was designed* to come out. I shall not trouble the public with many apologies for the unhappy and unforeseen delay; it shall suffice, and I am sure it will satisfy those of the least good nature, and charitable reflection, that some years ago, when I was preparing the work for the press with all expedition, a sudden and disastrous accident of fire consumed the greatest part of the

manuscripts and papers I had collected; upon which I advertised my willingness to return their subscription money who would call for it, and did not chuse to wait till I could get up another collection; and by *one only* amongst them all, the same was demanded and paid. I have now been enabled by the goodness of some great friends and learned antiquaries, to present this collection to the public, and hope they will be found both useful and entertaining."—*Preface.*

And it is also necessary to cite his excuse for his neglect of a chronological, or indeed any other arrangement:

"I may be charg'd with inaccuracy, in not preserving order of time in the following collection, but my desire to come out as soon as possible, and clear a reputation very freely and familiarly dealt with, made me send a letter to the press as soon as I received it, and which was often follow'd with *another prior* to the other in its *date* and *period*, but I have endeavour'd to set this right in the contents."—*Ibid.*

The Doctor's reference, at the end of his preface, to his long and ill repaid services in the ministry; to the difficulties which he struggled against, from having a very confined income; and to the ill offices and unkindness which he experienced, relate more to his personal history than to his book, though it would be unfair to notice his allusion to them without also speaking of his candid confession, that his life was not altogether "sans reproche."

So varied are the articles in this "book-making" volume, and so wretchedly are they arranged, that it is absolutely impossible, without enumerating every article, a task that would be equally irksome to our readers and to ourselves, to convey even an idea of its contents, excepting what may be gleaned from the following slight account of the principal subjects. With the exception of an "Epistle from Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, to King Luccus, anno 169," the earliest letter in the series is from Lord Scrope to Henry the Fourth, in 1401. Then, in point of time, follow, one from the magistrates of Nurenberg to the same monarch, in 1412; a warrant from the Earl of Warwick, temp. Henry VI.; a letter from Lord Hastings in recommendation of a servant, temp. Edward IV.; letters, from Margaret mother of Henry VII. to the King her son; and from Katherine Queen of Henry VIII.; several letters from statesmen and private individuals during that reign; Henry the Eighth's declaration relative to Anne of Cleves; a few letters, chiefly official, temp. Edward VI. and Queen Mary; a large correspondence between almost all the eminent characters of the reign of Elizabeth; six letters from Sir Thomas Lake, written about 1617, relating to public affairs; a few from Mr. Secretary Calvert; some letters from Elizabeth, James the First, Oliver Cromwell, and Charles the Second; royal speeches; charges to juries;

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account of audiences of ambassadors; an account of Venable's and Penn's expedition, which, the recent editor erroneously says, was never before printed; Lord Howard's speeches in parliament from 1660 to 1673; papers relating to baronies, &c. &c.; and, as if nothing might be wanting to add to the confusion, a few letters, which a MS. note informs us were written by Dr. Howard himself, and printed in a weekly paper in 1738, "but which he had been desired to publish in this collection." Nor is the horrible want of arrangement all that puzzles the reader; the very pages partake of the disorder which characterizes every other part: thus, according to our copy, and the fault does not seem to rest with the binder, p. 473 follows p. 378*; p. 502 is succeeded by p. 553; p. 568 by p. 595; p. 430 by p. 513, and p. 536 by p. 441; and after p. 464 is the appendix, which is paged 379: thence the pages are regular to p. 422, where we again meet with p. *521, and the volume ends at p. *535! At the back of the last page is the following account of the second volume, but which never appeared.

"The second volume *contains* some curious antiquities, letters, &c. in this period, and through the succeeding reigns to the present times: With some originals of Queen Ann, Dutchess of Marlborough, Lord Bolingbroke, Sir Robert Walpole, &c. To which are added several remarkable originals and scarce pieces, poetry, &c. religious, political, and moral."

It would thus seem that the worthy Doctor, finding it necessary to form a volume of a certain bulk, or to refund divers sums of money, adopted the former expedient; and, trusting to chance, sent to the printer every thing which the charity of his literary friends induced them to give him; that when the book was completed, or, in other words, when he thought that charity exhausted, it was deemed finished; but that, as it did not assume an appearance sufficiently bulky, patches were added until the necessary corpulency was attained; and hence the incongruous mass which we have introduced to our readers. Not a note of the least value is to be found throughout the work, whilst of those which occur the only merit they possess is, that not a dozen exist, and which altogether would not fill a page. Nor does the compiler—for the term editor would be misapplied—always tell us whence the articles were taken; and, with the exception of a few which were copied from the Cottonian Collection and the State Paper Office, we have but two securities against their being forgeries—the compiler's undoubted incapacity, and the internal evidence they contain of being authentic. Abundant as this wilderness is in weeds, it undoubtedly possesses some flowers. These we shall carefully select; though, if we presented them as we found them, few would

thank us for the kindness; for each must be accompanied by remarks descriptive of its particular value.

The earliest letter in the collection, with the exception of the very apocryphal one from Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, to King Luccus, A.D. 169, is from Stephen Lord Scrope of Masham to King Henry the Fourth. As no other date occurs in it than the 27th of August, the precise year when it was written can only be presumed; but as he died in January 1406, and speaks of being engaged in the king's service, with his majesty's son, it may be safely assigned to the year 1401, in which Dugdale states, he attended Thomas Plantagenet, afterwards Duke of Clarence, to Ireland. The most curious part of this letter is Scrope's apology for the manner in which it was written; he being obliged, for want of a clerk, to write it himself: but as one of the few specimens which exist of correspondence at the commencement of the fifteenth century, it is well deserving of perusal.

" A tres excellent, tres redoute, et mon essovereyn seigneur, le Roy.

" Tres excellent, tres redoute, et mon essovereyn Seigneur; je me recommand a vostre haute et Reall Majeste a tant come aucun lege homme puis a son Seigneur soveryn; desyrant ad tout mon coer de oyer et savoyr bonez novelles de vos et de vostre haute Majeste, le quell je pry a ly toute puissant que tous jours maintener et encrez com vostre coer mesmes saver a multz soheyder ou deviser; et vos doynt toujours le victoyr de tous voz enemyz: Et, tres redoute et mon essovereyn Seigneur, je vous supply par dieux, et en overe de charyte, que vos plesse, que je puis estre en vostre memoyr: Et pour tant que je suy en vostre servysse ovesk mon tres redoute Seigneur vostre Fitz, que je ne soy pas en obly. Et parce je ay envoye devant vostre haute presenz Hugh Cordoys, porteur de ceste, pour pursuer devent vostre haute presenz touchant mon bille que je ay baylle a vostre hautesse a mon deseyn de partir de vostre haute presenz, touchant le ylle de Man, en cas que vous plest que ill poursue pour le dit matre: Et altrement je le met en vostre haute et graciouse volunte. Par en bon foy de dieux, mon essovereyn Seigneur, je ne ay null espoyr, ne null eyde de null creature fors que de dieux et de vostre gracyouse et haute Majeste: Et parce par dieux, que vos plesse penser de mon pover estat, le quel je ne puis mayntener ne sustener en null manier sanz vostre gracyouse ayde. Et serteyn et en bon foy vos me troverez touz jours humble et loyale lege, et prest a touz servyces que vos me commandrez ad testous mon poayer en corps et bienz sans null fayntisse; Tres excellent, tres redoute, et mon essuer eyn seigneur, je pry aly Tout-puissant, que tous jours maynten et encrez vost haute et Realle Majeste en ioy, honer, et prosperite, com vost graciouse coeur mesmez saver a multz soheyder. Escrit a Chest, le xxvii jour de Auste, de ma propre rude mayn, en deffaute de un alt' clerk. Et par ce ie supply a vost hautesse, que vos plesse me tener pou excuse de cest Lettre.

" Vost' humble lege,

" S. Scropp."—pp. 65, 66.

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A letter from that celebrated woman, the Countess of Richmond, to her son, King Henry the Seventh, is of much interest. The suit to which she alludes was, we learn from a letter in Mr. Ellis's "Original Letters*," from Henry the Seventh to his mother, "some debts and duties which is oweing and due to her in France, by the French king and others," her whole right to which, that letter also informs us, she had then yielded to her son the king, though we may infer that the countess went first to Calais, purposely to recover them. Henry's communication is chiefly on that subject, and to which it is only necessary to refer. In the same work† a letter will be found from the countess to the king, dated at Colynton in Northamptonshire, in which she mentions the same affair. Like the following, that letter is signed "Margaret R." and which Mr. Ellis observes is "signed as queen," but it is nearly certain that the letter R. was meant to be the initial of "Richmond." We find, from the only date mentioned in it, that Henry the Seventh was born on St. Anne's day, the 26th of July, a fact which has been hitherto unknown; and the affectionate manner in which she speaks of its being his majesty's birth-day, as well as the endearing expressions she uses towards him, are peculiarly striking. She was then the wife of her third husband, Thomas Earl of Derby, whom she mentions as "my lord:" "my lord marquis" was probably the Marquis of Dorset; and "my lord of York" was Henry, the king's second son, afterwards King Henry the Eighth.

"To the King's Grace.

"My derest and only desyred joy yn thys world,

"With my moste herty lovynge blessyngs, and humble comendations: y pray oure Lord to rewarde, and thancke your grace, for thatt yt hathe plesyd your hyghnes soo kyndly and lovyngly to be content to wryte your lettyrs of thancks to the Frenshe kying, for my greet mater, that soo longe hathe been yn sewte, as Mastyr Welby hath shewed me your bounteous goodness is plesed. I wysh my der hert and my fortune be to recover yt, y trust ye shall well perseyve y shall delle towards you as a kind lovyng modyr; and if y shuld nevyr have yt, yet your kynd delyng ys to me a thousand tymes more then all that good y can recover, and all the Frenshe kyngs mygt be myn wythall. My der hert, and yt may plese your hyghnes to lycense Master Whytstongs, for thys time, to present your honorabyll lettyrs, and begin the process of my cause; for that he so well knoweth the matter, and also brought me the wrytings from the seyd Frenshe kyng, with hys odyr lettyrs to hys parlyement at Paryse, yt shold be gretlye to my helpe, as y thynke; but all wyll y remyte to your plesyr; and if y be too bold in this, or eny my desires, y humbly beseche your grace of pardon, and that your highnes take no dysplesyr.

* First Series, vol. i. p. 45. † Ibid. p. 47.

" My good kynge, y have now sent a servant of myn into Kendall, to resseyve syche anewietys as be yet hangynge opon the acounte of Sir Wyllyam Wall, my lords chapeleyn, whom y have clerly dyscharged; and if yt wull plese your mayestys oune herte, at your loyser to send me a lettyr, and command me, that y suffyr none of my tenantes be reteyned with no man, but that they be kepte for my lord of Yorke, your faire swete son, for whom they be most mete, it shall be a good excuse for me to my lord and hosbond; and then y may well and wythowte dysplesyr cause them all to be sworne, the wyche shall not aftyr be long undon: And wher your grace shewed your plesyr for the bastard of kyng Edwards, Syr, there is neither that, or any other thing, I may do by your commandment, but y shall be glad to fullfyll to my lytyll power, with God's grace: And, my swete king, Feldyng, this berer, hath prayed me to beseche yow to be his good Lord yn a matter he seweth for to the bishop of Ely, now, as we here, electe, for a lytyll offyse nyghe to Lond. Verily, my kynge, he ys a gued and a wyse well rewled gentylman, and full trewly hathe served yow well accompanyed as well at your fyrst as all odyr occasions; and that cawsethe us to be the more bold and gladder also to speke for hym; how be yt my lord marquis hath ben very low to hym yn times past, by cause he wuld not be reteyned with him; and trwly, my good kyng, he helpythe me ryght well yn seche matters as y have besynes wythyn thys partyes: And, my der hert, y now beseche you of pardon of my long and tedyous wryting, and pray almighty God to gyve you as long, good, and prosperous lyfe as evyr had Prynce, and as herty blessings as y can axe of God. At Calais town, thys day of Seint Annes, that y dyd bryng ynto thys world my good and gracyous prynce, kynge, and only beloved son. By

" Your humble servant, bede-woman, and modyer,
" MARGARET R."—pp. 155—157.

We are not sure whether the next letter we shall select, from Lady More, wife of the famous Sir Thomas More, to Cromwell, is generally known. If not, it will be very acceptable to most of our readers, for it presents a very affecting picture of the destitution to which that great man was reduced. It was evidently written about 1533, and the purport was to ask whether she might approach the king, because, from the fear then entertained of the plague, the sudden death of any person rendered the inhabitants of the house in which he died suspected of being infested with that disease. Dr. Howard says it was copied from the original.

" To the ryght honorable, and her especyall gud maister, Maister Secretarye.

" Right honorable, and my especyall gud Maister Secretarye: in my most humble wyse I recommend me unto your gud mastershypp, knowlegyng myself to be most deply boundyn to your gud mastershypp, for your monyfold gudnesse, and lovyng favour, both before this tyme, and yet dayly, now also shewyd towards my poure hus-

band and me. I pray almyghtye God continew your gudnes so styll, for thereupon hangith the greatest part of my poure husbands comfort and myne. The cause of my wrytyng, at this tyme, is to certyfye your especiall gud maistershypp of my great and extreme necessyte; which, on and besydes the charge of myn owne house, doe pay weekly 15 shillings for the bord-wages of my poure husband, and his servant; for the mayntaining whereof, I have ben compellyd, of verey necessyte, to sell part of myn apparell, for lack of other substance to make money of. Wherefore my most humble petition and sewte to your maistershipp, at this tyme, is to desyre your maistershypps favorable advyse and counsell, whether I may be so bold to attende uppon the kings most gracyouse highnes. I trust theyr is no dowte in the cause of my impediment; for the yonge man, being a ploughman, had been dyseased with the aggue by the space of 3 years before that he departed. And besides this, it is now fyve weeks syth he departed, and no other person dyseased in the house sith that tyme; wherefore I most humblye beseche your especyal gud maistershipp (as my only trust is, and ells knowe not what to doe, but utterly in this world to be undone) for the love of God to consyder the premisses; and thereupponn, of your most subundant gudnes, to shewe your most favorable helpe to the comfortyng of my poure husband and me, in this our great hevynes, extreme age, and necessyte. And thus we, and all ours, shall dayly, duryng our lyves, pray to God for the prosperous successe of your ryght honorable dygnyte.

" By your poure contynuall oratryx,
Dame Alis More."—pp. 271-2.

Every thing relating to the family of Anne Boleyn is of unusual interest; but the subjoined letter, which there can be little doubt was from her sister Mary to Secretary Cromwell, will well repay perusal from its own merits. She married, according to most pedigrees, first, William Carey, Esq., and secondly, Sir William Stafford; and her union with the knight we discover, for the first time, from this letter, excited the displeasure of the king and queen. Unfortunately no date is mentioned; but the queen seems to have been her sister Anne Boleyn, in which case it must have been written between 1533 and 1536. There is a frankness and candour in her confession of regard for her husband that speaks volumes in her favour; and popular as the name of Anne Boleyn is, it may be doubted if the qualities of her sister's mind were not of a far more natural and amiable character. The Duke of Norfolk was her maternal uncle; and " my lord her brother," Lord Rochford.

" To the ryght wourshypefull, and my syngular good frynde, Mastar Sekretory to the Kyngs Hynes thys be, S. S.

" Master Sekrytory after my pour recommandasshyons which ys smally to be regardyd off me that ame a pour banyshd kreatur, thys shall be to desyre you to be goode to my pour housbande and to me. I am seur yt ys nat oneknone to you the hy dysplessure that bothe

he and I have bothe of the kyngs hynes and the quens gras by the resson of our maryagge wytheout thayr knollyge, wheryn we bothe doe yelde our selfs faulty and doe knollyge that we dyd nat welle to be so hasty nor so bold wytheout thayr knollyge. But wone thyng good Master Sekretory consedor, that he was younge; and love ovarcame ressone, and for my part I saw so myche onesty yn hym that I lovyd hyme as well as he dyd me and was yn bondagge and glade I was to be at lybarty, so that for my part I saw that all the world dyd sete so lytyll by me and he so myche, that I thoute I could take no betar way but to take hyme and to forsake all other ways and lyve a pour oneste lyffe wythe hym; and so I doe pout no douts but we should, if we myht wons be so hapy to recouver the kyngs grasshyous favour and the quens. For well I myht a had a greater mane of byrth and a hyhar, but I ynsuer you I could never a had wone that should a lovyd me so well nor a mor onest man, and bysydes that, he ys bothe come offe an aunssyent stok, and agayn as mete, (yeff yt was hys grassys plesaur,) to doe the kyng servys as any young jentyllmane yne hys court; therefore good Mastar Sekretory thys shall be my sute to you that for the loue that well I kno you doe ber to all my bloude, tho' for my part I have nat desarvyd yt, but smally bye the ressone of my vylle condasshyons, as to pout my housband to the kyngs gras that he may doe hys duty as all outhar gentyllmene doe: and good Mastar Sekretory sue for us to the kyngs hynes and beshych his hynes whyche ever was wount to take pety, to have pety one ous and that yt woull ples hys gras of his goodines to speke to the qwens gras for ous; for as far as I cane parsayve har gras ys so hyly dysplessed wyth ous both that withoute the kyng be so good lord to ous as to wythedraw hys reguor and sue for ous we are nevar lyke to recovar har grasys favoor, whych ys to hevy to ber. And seinge ther ys no remydy, for Gods sake help ous: for we have byne now a quarter off a yer maryyd I thanke God and to late now to call that agayn; wherfor yt ys the more almones to helpe. Bout yeffe I war at my lebarty and myhte chous, I ynseure you Mastar Sekretory for my lytyll tyme I haue tryyd so myche onesty to be yne hym that I had rather beg my bred wyth hyme thane to be the gretyst quene krystynd; and I bylyve veryly he ys yne the same cas wythe me, for I bylyve veryly a would nat forsake me to be a kyng, therfor good Mastar Sekretory beyng we are so well togethar and does ynetende to lyve so oneste a lyffe, though yt be but pour, shou part of your goodenes to ous as well as you doe to all the worlde bysyds; for I promys you ye have the name to helpe all them that hathe nede, and amonkst all your suetars I dar be bolde to say that you have no mater more to be pytyd thane ours: and therfor for Gods sake be good to ous for yne you ys all our troust, and I beshych you good Mastar Sekretory pray my lord my fathar and my lady to be good to ous and to lete me have thayr blessyngs and my housband thayr good wyll, and I wool nevar desyr mor off them. Allso I pray you desyr my Lorde of Norfolk and my lorde my brouthar to be good to ous. I dar nat wryte to theme they ar so cruel agaynst ous, but yeff wyth any payne that I could take wythe my lyffe I myht wyne ther good wyls I promys you ther ys no chyld lyvyng would ventar mor than I, and

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so I pray you to report by me, and you shall fynd my wryting true and yn all poynts whyche I may ples theme yne, I shall be redy to obay theme neryst my housband, home I ame moste bound to, to whom I most hartly beshych you to be good unto, whyche for my sake ys a pour banysshed mane for an onest and a godely cawes: and beyng that I have red yne old bouks that some, for aws joust caussys have by kyngs and quens byn pardonnyd by the suete of good folks, I troust yt shall be our chans thourow your good help, to come to the same, as knoyth the God, who sende you helthe and harts ese. Scryblyd wyth her yll hande, who ys your pour humble suytor always to commande.

"MARY STAFFORD."—pp. 525-7.

Our next selection will also be a lady's letter. It is from Katherine Basset, daughter of John Basset, Esq. of Heanton in Devonshire, by Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle, natural son of Edward the Fourth; and from the address, it seems that her mother assumed the title of "Lady Lisle." Katherine was then in the household of the Earl of Rutland, and entreated her mother to exert herself to obtain the queen's favour, most probably with the view of becoming a maid of honour.

"To the right honourable, and my very good lady and mother, my Lady Lisle, be this delyvered at Calais.

"Madame,

"In my humble wyse, my dewtye done to your ladyship, desyeryng yow of your daylye blessyng; sertifying your ladyship, that my lord of Rutland, and my ladye, be in good health, and hathe them hertelye recommendyd to your ladiship, thankyng yow for yowre wyne, and your heryng, that yow sent them. Madame, my ladye hath gyven me a gown of Kaffa damask, of her own old wearyng; and that she wold in no wise that I shuld reffuse yt. And I have spoken to Mr. Husse, for a rowle of buckeram to new lyne yt, and velwyt to edge it withall. Madame, I humbly beseche your ladyship to be good ladye and mother to me: for my Ladye of Rutland sayth, that mother Lowe, the mother of the Dowche maydes, maye do muche for my preferment to the queen's highness; so that your ladiship wold sende her my good token, that she myght the better remembre me; trustyng that your ladyship wold be good ladye unto me in this behalf. Madame, I have received of Ravenfford two crownes, for the whiche I humbly thank your ladyship. I do lake a ketyll [kertel] for every day: I beseche your ladyship that I maye have yt; and I desyer your ladyship, that I maye be humblye recommended to my lorde, and to my sisters. Madam, my brother George is in good helthe, and is here in the cowrt with Sir Francis Brian. And thus the Holy Ghost have yow in his kepyng, who send your ladyship good lyffe, and length, to his plesure. Wrytten at Yorke's Place, the 17th daye of February,

"by your humble daughter,

"KATHERINE BASSET."—pp. 213-4.

Nor have we yet done either with the reign of Henry the Eighth, or the epistles of ladies. We have a curious letter with which to entertain our readers from Ann, first Countess of Bedford, to some nobleman about procuring physicians for the earl, who was then ill, and whose fancies are amusingly described. Dr. Buttes was the great physician of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and was sent by the king to Wolsey during the cardinal's last illness. He is also honourably commemorated by Fox as the friend of Bishop Latimer; but he is better known from being introduced by Shakespeare into his play of "Henry the Eighth:" his portrait occurs in Holbein's picture in Surgeons' Hall, of Henry giving the charter to the Company of Surgeons.

"In most humble manner, I commend me unto your lordship. So it is, that it hath pleased God to visit my husband with a burning ague, ensuring your lordship he was as sick and as sore handled with it yesterday, as ever I saw him in my life; and as your lordship shall perceive by the letter therein, I sent to London to a chaplain of my husbands, to send him physicians; but he could get none that my husband had any mind unto; wherefore this shall be most heartily to beseech your lordship, of your goodness, that you will help him so that Doctor Buttes, or the Spanish physician might come hither; for if they did but see my husband, he would think himself half healed.

"Furthermore, there is a powder that the kings grace gave to my lord admiral, which my husband hath a great mind unto; and if your lordship could get a few of that of the kings grace for him, you should do him the greatest pleasure in the world. At the writing of this letter, I had, nor could get, no physicians as knoweth him, who preserve your good lordship.

"*At Cheynes, July* 29. "By your poor bede woman,

"Ann Russell."—pp. 296-7.

But we must not be so unjust to the Compiler to omit his note, because it is a fair specimen of the half dozen which he has inserted.

"This lady was Anne, the wife of John, the first Earl of Bedford, and daughter of Sir Guy Sapcott, bart.

"N. B. This letter is published to shew the early taste for quackery, which, like the frogs in Egypt, got into the king's palace: however, it chanced to turn out a valuable medicine, and was purchased of the king for 5000l. It is thought to be what we now call the Gascoign powder."

From one of the Cottonian manuscripts Dr. Howard has given a copy, from the original, of Henry the Eighth's declaration of his dislike to Anne of Cleves, in which his majesty states,

"Then after, at my repayre to Grenewyche, the next day after, I thynke, and dowght nott but that the Lord of Essex, well examined, can, wyll, or hathe declaryd what I then sayde to hym in that case, not dowghtyng, but since he is a person whyche knowyth hymselfe condemnyd to dye by act of parliament, wyll not dame his solle, but

truly declare the trught, not only att that tyme spoken by me, but also contynuyingly till the day of maryage, and also many times after; wherby I'm lacke off consent, I dought not dothe or shall well appeare; and also lacke much off both wyll and power to consummate the same; weryn both he, my physicians, the Lord Privy Seal that now is, Heneyge and Deny, can, and I doubt not will, testify according to trewth; whyche is, that I never, for love to woman, consented to mary; nor yet if she brought with her, toke any from her. This is my bryffe declaration. H."

"Oppon the day off her entre to Grynwich, after I had broght her to her chamber, he came wyth me to myne; and then I sayd to him How say you, my lord; is it not as I tolde you? Say what they wyll, she is nothing fayre; the parsonage is well and semly, but nothing else. Be my fayth, you say right, quoth he; but me thynketh she hath a queenly manner wyth all. That is right, quoth I; and for that tyme we had no farther communication."

"The even before we shulde be maryed, as you and I was talkyng thereoff, yow tolde me, that the ambassadurs and you, with the rest of my commissioners, were at a poynt; and then I asked you, How do ye with the ensurrance that was made by her to the Duke of Loran? To that yow answard and sayde, They have cleryd that matter well inowght, and browght with them a sufficient instrument of the same. Marry, quo I; yett wyll I not mary her, excepte she make a renounciation herselfe: Whereoppon, as I remember, you causyd her to make the same; and when she had done it, yow came to me effesones agayne, and tolde me, that it was done: then is there no remedy, quo I, but put my necke in the yoke; and so we parted for that time. The morow after we were maryd, as he and I communyd of our affaires, and the wayghty maters resolvyd, he asked me whether I likyd her any better then affore. I answard, and sayd, nay, my lord, muche wors; for by her brest she shulde be no mayde; which strake me to the hart. But is it so? quo he. Ye, by my fayth, quo I. Then wolde I, quo he, she never had come here. And also I dowght nott, but that he dothe well remember, that at sondry and many other tymes synce, I have declaryd unto hym how I abhorde her ever since. If these thyngs be true, wyllyng to sett hys hand thereto."—pp. 170-2.

A letter occurs * in Latin, without date, signed "Margaret Seymour and Jane Seymour," thanking Henry for a literary present, probably a book, which they assured his majesty would stimulate them in their studies.

Lord Wharton, in a letter to the Lord Privy Seal, dated at Cockermouth, 23rd December, 1540, advises his lordship, that,

"As I am informed, there is a ballad maide lately in Scotlande of gret derision against all Ynglyshmen, for our livynge in the trew christen faith; which they take to be the contrarie. If it be your lordship's plesure, that I shall sende for the copie, and to sende it to

* P. 276.

your lordshipe; for it goeth muche abrode; and, as I am also informed, that the byshops are the setters forth thereof; as it maie stand with your lordship's most honorable commandment therein."—p. 169.

Some ballads on the same subject, and about that time, are introduced into Bishop Percy's "Reliques;" but it is not likely that either of them is the one alluded to by Lord Wharton.

Among the numerous letters of the reign of Elizabeth, a few will be found of importance, and many of much interest: of the former is a copy of the commission for the execution of the Queen of Scots, "penned," the compiler says, "by Lord Burghley." It is dated on the 1st Feb. 29 Eliz. 1587, and was directed to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and Pembroke. The date there assigned to that instrument fully agrees with Secretary Davison's assertion, that it was signed on Friday the first of February. Following the warrant, Dr. Howard has inserted the correspondence between James the First and Elizabeth, relative to his mother; but it has been frequently printed elsewhere. There are, however, two letters from James on another affair, which we do not remember to have read before *. The well known Duke of Norfolk, who lost his life from his connexion with the Queen of Scots, writing to the Earl of Sussex in August, 1560, betrays his suspicion of Elizabeth's duplicity; a suspicion justified by almost every action of her life.

"I am at the last arrived at the court, good cosyne, after long delays, where, by my will, I mind not long to tarry. All things at my coming out of the north were in as good state as it was possible to make broken matters to be. God send the queens majesty quickly to take order for the redress thereof; it is now an easy matter to do it, which with prolonging may become almost impossible. I have received at the queen's majesty's great heap of fair words, both openly and privately. Her majesty promises me great matters, God send me to feel of some in effect, as by my lords here I am put in good hope. Thus being sorry, that through my man's negligence I have been fain to make your man tarry for this scribbling so long, I bid you, good cosyne, most heartilye farewell. Pray make my commendations unto my lady. From Southehamtone, the 1st of August, 1560.

"Your loving cosyne assuredly,

"Thomas Norfolke."—pp. 203-4.

Another letter from that unfortunate nobleman well merits a place among these extracts.

"To the Earl of Sussex.

"I am glad, good cosyne, that in the ende the queen's majestye will consider of the service you have done her in Ireland, not dowtynge, but that tyme shall brynge her majesty to know her true and heartye servants from dysemblyng and flattering lyars; and as to the

* P. 244, 245.

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or any others, they be soe errante lyes, as I care lyttle for them. I thynke the world thynkes we have not so lyttle wit to deal in that sort; but if some heads were not occupyed in some matters, the clock should stand still: I smell whence these storyes rise: I, for my own parte, remain ready at all tymes, upon my friends advertisements. Marry, and if by any means it might be, I would be very lothe to come unsent for, if occasion served for my comyng. Mr. Secretary may soon dyvyse to cause the queens majesty to claime my promise; which is upon a letter from him, to come up with all speed. I shall doe more good, being sent for, than in comyng upon any other occasion: but because I here cannot so well judge what is best to be done as you there, and Mr. Secretary, I have sent myself to be ordered therein as you two shall thynke good: and so for this tyme, thankyng you for your friendly letters, I bid you, good cosyne, most heartilye farewelle. From Norwich, this 15th of July, 1565.

" Your assured loving cosyne,
T. NORFOLKE."—pp. 204-5.

Few people would suppose that Richard Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle from 1570 to 1577, was speaking of the wife of the former bishop, John Best, who filled that See from 1561 to May, 1570, had he not used the word "predecessor." Addressing the Earl of Sussex in January, 1571, he says,

" I am bold to beseche, and most humblie to crave, your honor's lawfull and good favour and furtherance towards a poore blinde woman, and her poore children, Elizabethe Beeste, late wife to my predecessour at Carlyle; who is in good forwardness to receive some relief at the queenes majestie's gracious hands, towards the payment of the debtes to the quene, before his death, in consideration of great charges; which he is said in the quenes service to have sustayned; and the rather by your good means and helpe; which to bestowe, I dowte not your honor will be redie, according to your accustomed wonte. And for that ende my simple sewte is, if the same unto your honor may be found reasonable, and seeme worthie to be consydered."—p. 200.

The speech of Henry Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex, at his execution in 1601, for the part he took in the earl's rebellion, has perhaps been before printed: but as it is too good to lose its value from repetition, we shall insert it:

" I am here adjudged to die for acting an act never plotted; for plotting a plot never acted. Justice will have her course; accusers must be heard; greatness will have the victory: scholars and martialists (though learning and valour should have the pre-eminence) in England must die like dogs, and be hanged. To mislike this, were but folly; to dispute of it, but time lost; to alter it, impossible; but to endure it, is manly, and to scorn it, magnanimity. The queen is displeased, the lawyers injurious, and death terrible: but I crave pardon of the queen; forgive the lawyers, and the world; desire to be forgiven; and welcome death."—p. 152.

A long correspondence is introduced relative to the Earl of

Suffolk, who with his lady, in 1619, were fined £30,000, and imprisoned in the Tower, for malversation in his office as lord treasurer; but about which his biographer, Collins, is wholly, and unless it were from ignorance, criminally silent in his account of the earl in his "Peerage."

But we must hasten to a conclusion. Among the articles which deserve notice, is a petition from Mr. Francis Phylipes, on behalf of his brother, Sir Robert, then a prisoner in the Tower, which is very eloquently written; an account of the reception of James the Second at Oxford; of the meeting between the Czar and William the Third in Holland; and the speeches of Lord Howard in the House of Commons, from 1660 to 1673, and some others.

Our extracts shall, however, terminate with a modern letter from a maid of honour to a fair friend who was afflicted with the small-pox, which displays the vivacity of the writer in a manner that we think cannot fail to please our readers; and will serve either as a foil or a relief, as their taste may be, to the earlier correspondence which we have brought to their notice.

"My dear Lady Charlotte,

"The concern which your illness gave me, could be equalled by nothing but the present contrast, my joy at your recovery. I am told you are very angry at my not coming to see you; but pray, my dear, hear the reason before you condemn me. You must know I never had the small-pox, and tho' there may be no danger, I cannot help my fears; I had once plucked up my spirits, and sent for my chair; but the thought immediately came into my head, that the hail which fell upon you, without its usual effects, might revenge itself on me, and pepper me off for a ceremonious and imprudent civility; and then what must have become of a poor maid of honour, with nothing but her royal mistresses bounty, to get her a husband?

"As yet my face has no pimples, nor have I drank it into redness, nor painted it into wainscot, but it retains the tolerable form and features which my good Maker gave it. If it has not charms enough to catch a duke or an earl, yet it may get a young pair of colours in the Guards, or throw perhaps an old battered colonel at my feet: but disfigured by that spightful and ugly distemper, I must either die a maid, or end my days behind a counter in the city, with no more balls, or pleasures in my prospect, but a walk with my spruce husband to his hall on a lord mayor's day, to open the ball with some clean-shirted 'prentice, or merchant's book-keeper. If this is not a sufficient plea to excuse my not waiting on your ladyship, your good nature, that beauty of your mind, is gone, however favourable that disease, which is the common enemy of a complexion has been to your face. All her friends trembled for lady Charlotte but myself: and now mark how I am going to present you with a fine stroke, and a simile. As the sun drives back the vapours of the earth, by the strength of its beams; so your bright eyes have sent back the malignity of the small-pox, from your lovely face, which heaven would not suffer that distemper to pit and spoil, because it was

unwilling one of the finest of its works should fall its victim, and cease to promote its Creator's praise and honour. I forget, the princess has sent, and the chair waits, or I could say a thousand such things. Lord keep every girl of face and condition from such a misfortune as you have wonderfully escaped, to the joy of all the pretty fellows in town, and the particular pleasure and satisfaction of,

" my dear lady,

" your whimsical friend,

" A. B."—pp. 459—460, signature M m m.

The selections we have made will show that this volume contains too many articles of value to justify the neglect which it has received; and though we have extracted only such letters as appeared most likely to be popular, there are many, for which we had not space, of considerable merit. Indeed no writer of history, either general or personal, ought to omit perusing it; for although he will have to wade through an immensity of chaff, he may find a grain, which he would in vain seek for in publications of higher reputation: and should any person be induced to edit a collection of such documents, we strongly recommend him to rescue a large portion of those in this work from the comparative oblivion into which they have fallen. It is perhaps useful to add, that it is sometimes cited as " Lord Howard's Collection of Letters;" and that it is frequently quoted in Walpole's " Royal and Noble Authors."

The Poetry contained in the Novels, Tales, and Romances of the Author of Waverley.—Edinburgh and London, 1822.—12mo.

We have spent a few idle hours in tracing the Great Novelist to the sources of many of his poetical allusions. It may be not uninteresting to track the favourite paths of so distinguished a genius, and the more especially do we feel at home in so doing, since they so generally lie among our strictly retrospective domains. The snatches of verse thickly scattered over the series of his novels indicate the description of study to which he has resorted for the nourishing his imagination; and in this point of view our task absolutely assumes an air of utility and importance.

It will be seen that he has been by no means anxious to exhibit his quotations with minute and faithful accuracy; but he has put together those parts of the different originals; and even made such alterations of his own, as fancy or convenience might suggest.

The present collection is by no means offered as complete, although we believe it to be perfect as far as it goes; yet there remain passages which we fancy to remember having seen in

other places; and which more extensive reading, and a more correct memory, may enable the reader to verify for himself.

To save trouble, we shall give references, not to the volume * and page of the different tales; but, as far as it is practicable, to the pages of the elegant little work before us. This may cause our notices to be less complete than perhaps they might otherwise have been; since that collection does not contain all the poetical passages interspersed in the text of the earlier novels and tales. Our task concludes with the Tales of the Crusaders; and was completed long before the avowal which decided the much-agitated question as to the "Author of Waverley."

WAVERLEY, p. 22.

The charm is to be found, as follows, in the 12th book, chap. xiv. p. 177, of "Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft:.... Whereunto is added, a Treatise upon the Nature and Substance of Spirits and Divels, &c. all written and published in Anno 1584, by Reginald Scot, Esquire.—Printed by R. C. and are to be sold by Giles Calvert, dwelling at the Black Spread-Eagle, at the West-end of Pauls, 1651."—small 4to.

"*Another charme that witches use at the gathering of their medicinable herbs.*

Haile be thou holy herbe
Growing on the ground,
All in the mount † Calvarie
First wert thou found,
Thou art good for many a sore,
And healest many a wound,
In the name of sweet Iesus
I take thee from the ground."

——— p. 28.

"O gin ye were dead, gudeman,"

is the first verse and burden of a song of five stanzas:

"I wish that you were dead, goodman,
And a green sod on your head, goodman,
That I might ware my widowhead,
Upon a ranting highlandman."

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* An omission has been made in the late collective reprints of the "*Novels and Tales,*" in 8vo. and smaller sizes; the numbers of the chapters do not correspond with those in the original editions, and each size has a numeration of its own. The publishers might easily rectify this by printing upon a single sheet a table of the variations of the different editions; and adapting it so as to be bound up with any of them.

† "Though neither the herb nor the witch never came there."

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The whole occurs, vol. ii. p. 276, of "Ancient and Modern Scotish * Songs," &c. in two volumes, 12mo. Edinb. 1791.

——— p. 289.

With respect to the chorus of the chieftain's song—

> "We 'll give them the metal our mountain affords,
> Lilleburlero, bullen a-la,"

it is to be found in vol. ii. p. 538, of Percy's Reliques, ed. 1765, and is there said to have conduced very much to the revolution of 1688. Bishop Percy observes, it was written on occasion of the king's nominating to the lieutenancy of Ireland, in 1686, General Talbot, newly created Earl of Tyrconnel †, a furious papist, who had recommended himself to his bigoted master by his arbitrary treatment of the protestants in the preceding year, when only lieutenant-general; and whose subsequent conduct fully justified his expectations and their fears.

Lilliburlero is said to have been the watch-word used among the Irish papists in the massacre of the protestants in 1641. Of this song, by which Lord Wharton is reported to have boasted that he had driven James from Ireland, and which is filled with the coarsest abuse and ridicule of the catholics, the two last stanzas will be a sufficient specimen.

> "Dare was an old prophecy found in a bog,
> Lero lero, lille burlero, lero lero, bullen a-la,
> Ireland shall be ruled by an ass and a dog.
> Lero, &c. &c.
>
> And now dis prophecy is come to pass,
> Lero, &c.
> For Talbot's de dog, and Ja - - s is de ass,
> Lero, &c. &c."

How then a stanch Jacobite and good Catholic could sing the above burthen with unmixed pleasure—and whether this may not be added to passages in which the Novelist has been careless—may be left for the consideration of the reader.

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* Ritson, in a note in the preface to his *Scotish Songs*, two vols. Lond. 1794, observes: "The word *Scottish* is an improper orthography [which expression, by the way, to a more educated ear strongly resembles a bull] of *Scotish; Scotch* is still more corrupt, and *Scots* (as an adjective) a national barbarism: which is observed here once for all to prevent the imputation of inconsistency and confusion, as a direct quotation should be always literal."

† "The well-known tune of Lillabullero, composed in ridicule of King James and his Lieutenant in Ireland, Lord Tyrconnel, was highly fashionable in King William's army; and hence became the favourite of uncle Toby."—Note in *Tristram Shandy*, p. 29, of Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, vol. v. Of its effect, see Bennet's Hist. i. 792, fol. ed. preserved in the best edition, 8vo. Oxford, 1823.

——— p. 29.

The first stanza of David Gelatley's song is slightly altered from stanzas 5 and 6 of the "The Lady turned Serving-Man"* in Percy's Reliques, iii. 127, edit. 1812.

"They came upon us in the night,
And brent my bower, and slew my knight;
And trembling hid in man's array,
I scant with life escap'd away.

In the midst of this extremitie,
My servants all did from me flee:
Thus was I left myself alone,
With heart more cold than any stone."

——— 31.

To be found in B. v. of the Faerie Queene, canto vii. stanza 6. In the last line of the stanza, the folio of 1612, printed for Matthew Lownes, instead of 'espied' reads 'enuied.'

GUY MANNERING, p. 45.

The concluding lines of Glossin's song occur in George Peele's "pleasant conceited comedie," called "The old Wives Tale," Lond. 1595, which is remarkable as being supposed by Reid to have suggested to Milton the plan of Comus.

In Peele's play, Anticke, Frolicke, and Fantasticke, three adventurers, are benighted in a wood, and have recourse to singing:

"Three merrie men, and three merrie men,
And three merrie men be wee;
I in the wood, and thou on the ground,
And Jacke sleeps in the tree."

This song is alluded to by Sir Toby, in Twelfth Night, Act II. Sc. 3, where the notes of the commentators may be consulted for other references. See also "Ram-Alley, or, Merry Tricks, 1611." Act II. Sc. 1; which is republished in vol. v. p. 390, of the recent reprint of Dodsley's "Old Plays."

——— Motto to iii. chap. xiv. p. 47.

Stanzas xxvii. xxviii. of "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine," printed in Percy's Reliques, i. 248. edit. 1765, and supposed by him to be anterior to the time of Chaucer.

"To hail the king in seemelye sorte
This ladye was fulle fayne;
But king Arthûre all sore amaz'd,
No aunswere made againe.

* ... "given," as the editor informs us, "from a written copy, containing some improvements, perhaps modern ones, upon the popular ballad, entitled 'The famous flower of Serving-men: or the Lady turned Serving-man.'"

What wight art thou, the ladye sayd,
That wilt not speake to mee?
Sir, I may chance to ease thy paine,
Though I bee foule to see."

——— iii. chap. vii.

The "*scelestissima!*—that is—gudewife"...." *malefica*—that is to say—Mrs. Merrilies"...." *sceleratissima!*—which means—Mrs. Margaret," and, still more ludicrous, the "*conjuro te*—that is, I thank you heartily," of the perplexed and horror-stricken Dominie, recall some lines in the "Nonnes Preestes Tale" of Chaucer, better known by its more modern title of "The Cock and the Fox."

"For al so siker * as *In principio,*
Mulier est hominis confusio.
Madame, the sentence † of this Latine is,
Woman is mannes joye and mannes blis."—l. 15169-72.

It may be thought that the *Latine*, here so favourably translated, is not a little at variance with the high strain of compliment which immediately precedes; and that the gallant husband of "Dame Pertelote," probably not being gifted with the prodigious erudition of Mr. Sampson, may have risked a quotation without knowing much about its import.

The extent of the acquirements of the "gentil cok" is not very easily to be determined; but the poet evidently points him out as a bird of no common order:

"In all the land of crowing, n' as ‡ his pere."

His chagrin had been excited by a domestic lecture couched in no very gentle terms:

"How dorsten ye for shame to say to your love,
That any thing might maken you aferde?
Han ye no mannes herte, and have a berde?"

His wife, then, proceeding to discuss the causes of her husband's depression, enlarges upon a formidable course of medicine which it may be desirable that he should pursue, till she is obliged to confess that "she can say him no more." Her partner, for whose especial benefit all this rhetoric is intended, having in the most exemplary manner refrained from interruption, seizes the moment to signify his impatience:

"Madame, quod he, *grand mercy* of your lore."

May we not then conclude that he eagerly availed himself of a medium, through which he could with impunity indulge

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* siker—Saxon, sure. † sentence—opinion, meaning.
‡ n'as, ne was—was not.

the expression of his spleen without externally violating the courtesy of his demeanour?

THE ANTIQUARY, p. 55.

The seven lines form the fifth stanza of the "Floure and the Leafe," which Dryden has made so familiar to all lovers of beautiful poetry.

"In which were Okes great, streight as a line,
Under the which the grasse so fresh of hew,
Was newly sprong, and an eight foot or nine
Every tree well fro his fellow grew,
With branches brode, laden with leves new,
That sprongen out ayen * the sunne shene,
Some very red, and some a glad light grene."

——— p. 68.

The two following lines are to be found, vol. ii. p. 68, of "Antient and Modern Scotish Songs," &c. Edinb. 1791. They are lines 58 and 59 of a nonsensical medley, called "The Dreg Song;" and may be quoted to illustrate the first verse of Elspeth's ballad.

"The oysters are a gentle kin,
They winna tak unless you sing."

Oysters appear to have preserved their comparative gentility to a late period. In a dialogue overheard, not many years ago in a street of Edinburgh, between two fishwomen, lamenting the death of a member of their sisterhood, one of the speakers happened to inquire "if the deceased was not in the oyster line."—"Hoot! puir body, she never got abune the muscle line in all her life."

A ballad, describing "The Battle of Harlaw, foughten upon Friday, July 24, 1411, against Donald of the Isles," is printed, p. 177, of "The Caledonian Muse; a Chronological Selection of Scotish Poetry from the earliest Times." Edited by the late Joseph Ritson, Esq. London: printed 1785: first published, 1821.

The lines,

——— p. 72.

"With that he gave his able horse the head," &c.

are taken from the Second Part of King Henry IV. Act. I. Sc. 1.

ROB ROY.

The lines in the motto to vol. ii. chap. x. p. 86, occur, vol. ii. p. 74, of "Antient and Modern Scotish Songs," &c. Edinb. 1791.

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* ayen—against.

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" Ben went our good man,
And ben went he,
And then he spy'd a sturdy man
Where nae man shou'd be:

" And how came this man here?
How can this be?
How came this man here,
Without the leave o' me?"—l. 99—106.

——— Motto to vol. iii. chap. x. p. 89.

Stanzas xvii. xviii. of "The Rising in the North," which took place in the 12th of Elizabeth, 1569: printed in Percy's Reliques, i. p. 248, edit. 1765.

" Come ye hither, my nine good sonnes,
Gallant men I trowe you bee:
How many of you, my children deare,
Will stand by that good earle and me?

" Eight of them did answer make,
Eight of them spake hastilie,
O father, till the daye we dye
We 'll stand by that good earle and thee."

Old Mortality, vol. iii. chap. ii. p. 101.

" Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage.
If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free;
Angels alone that soar above
Enjoy such liberty."

The fourth and last stanza of Lovelace's celebrated song "To Althea, from Prison," set to music by Dr. John Wilson; to be found at p. 61, part I. of the elegant reprint of "Lucasta," in Mr. Singer's "Early English Poets*," and in Percy's Reliques, ii. p. 359, edit. 1812.

Heart of Mid-Lothian, p. 122.

The "Bannocks of Barley-Meal," occurs in "Antient and Modern Scotish Songs," vol. ii. p. 241. The song consists of seven

* Notwithstanding that this republication is not quite so correct as could be wished, we cannot help expressing our regret that the parts do not appear more frequently.—We avail ourselves of the present opportunity to inquire for the remaining numbers of the "Ancient Humorous Poetry."

stanzas of eight lines: the lines quoted are the third and fourth of the second stanza:

> "At the sight of Kirkaldy ance again,
> I 'll cock up my bonnet and march amain."

And the seventh and eighth of the third stanza:

> "Wi' my claymore * hanging down to my heel,
> To whang at the bannocks o' barley-meal."

——— p. 122.

The first stanza of "Sheriff-Muir," in twenty-one stanzas, to be found in vol. ii. p. 56, of "Scotish Songs; in two volumes, 1794," published by Ritson, who observes in a note: "The battle of Dunblain, or Sheriff-Muir, was fought the 13th of November, 1715, between the Earl of Mar, for the Chevalier, and the Duke of Argyle for the government. Both sides claimed the victory, the left wing of either army being routed. The capture of Preston, it is very remarkable, happened on the same day." The stanza is as follows:

> "There's some say that we wan,
> Some say that they wan,
> Some say that nane wan at a' man;
> But one thing I 'm sure,
> That at Sherif Muir
> A battle there was, which I saw man:
> *And we ran and they ran, and they ran and we ran,*
> *and we ran and they ran, awa' man.*"

Bride of Lammermoor. Motto to vol. i. chap. viii. p. 130.

Stanzas 2, 3, 4, of "the Heir of Linne," part the second, printed in Percy's Reliques, ii. p. 309, edit. 1765 †.

> "He looked up, he looked downe,
> In hope some comfort for to winne,
> But bare and lothly were the walles:
> Here 's sorry cheare, quo' the heire of Linne.
>
> "The little windowe dim and darke
> Was hung with ivy, brere, and yew;
> No skimmering sunn here ever shone;
> No halesome breeze here ever blew.

---

* "Glaymore. A highland broad-sword: from the Erse *glay*, or *glaive*, a sword; and *more*, great." Grose.

† We may mention that it is desirable to be able to refer to the *first* edition of Bishop Percy's Reliques, and to the *last* superintended by his nephew. There are numerous variations in the essays, &c. in the different editions.

Dr. Dibdin, in the "Bibliographical Decameron," gives an interesting account of the Bishop's celebrated folio MS. the existence of which was treated with such fierce incredulity by Ritson.

" No chair, ne table he mote spye,
No chearful hearth, ne welcome bed,
Nought save a rope with renning noose,
That dangling hung up o'er his head."

It is also printed at p. 129, vol. ii. of Ritson's Scotish Songs.

—— p. 131.

Those lines are the four first of the second stanza of a song, " Tod aunton me," printed in Ritson's Scotish Songs, vol. ii. p. 112.

The whole stanza is as follows:

" But to wanton me, but to wanton me,
Do you ken the thing that would wanton me?
To see gued corn upon the rigs,
And banishment to all the whigs,
And right restor'd where right should be;
O! these are the things that wa'd wanton me."

A Legend of Montrose. Motto to vol. iv. chap. iv. p. 144.

This is taken from Act I. Sc. 1. of " The Hogge hath lost his Pearle: a comedy, by Robert Tailor." London, 1614. 4to. and reprinted in page 344, vol. vi. of the new edition of Dodsley's " Old Plays" with additional notes.

" . . . . . hold in
Their child's affections, and controul that love,
Which the high powers divine inspire them with,
When in their shallowest judgments they may know,
Affection crost brings misery and woe," &c.

—— iv. chap. vii. p. 144.

An improvement of the last stanza in the first part of the Marquis of Montrose's Address to his Mistress, printed in Evans's " Old Ballads," vol. iv. p. 301. edit. 1810.

" But if thou wilt be constant then
And faithful of my word,
I 'll make thee glorious by my pen,
And famous by my sword.
I 'll serve thee in such noble ways
Was never heard before:
I 'll crown and deck thee all with bays,
And love thee ever more."

—— Motto to vol. iv. chap. viii. p. 145.

The two last stanzas of the sixth fit of " The Battle of Floddon Field; a Poem of the Sixteenth Century," p. 85 of the edition by Weber. Edinb. 1808.

" Such mountains steep, such craggy hills,
His army on th' one side inclose;
The other side great grizly gills
Did fence with fenny mire and moss.

" Which, when the earl understood,
He council craved of his captains all,
Who bad set forth with manful mood,
And take such fortune as would fall."

IVANHOE, vol. i. chap. xii. p. 242.

With the spirited description of the " Field of Ashby," the reader may compare the following picture of a field of battle, by Sir Philip Sydney:

" And now the often-changing fortune beganne also to chaunge the hew of the battels. For at the first, though it were terrible, yet Terror was deckt so bravelie with rich furniture, guilt swords, shining armours, pleasant pensils *, that the eye with delight had scarce leasure to be affraide: but now all universally defiled with dust, bloud, broken armour, mangled bodies, tooke away the maske, and sette foorth Horror in his owne horrible manner." Lib. iii. p. 258 of The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney, Knight. Now the third time published, with sundrie new additions of the same author. London, imprinted for William Ponsonbie. Anno Domini 1598.

Of this edition, the noble library of Trinity College, Cambridge, possesses a copy in fine old red morocco, with the autograph of Mary Sydney upon the title.

We find the above passage already pointed out to the notice of the modern reader by Headley, in his Beauties of Ancient English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 138, first edition, who puts the nine last words in *Italics*. We had transcribed the passage without being aware that he had previously availed himself of it, and are not liable to his severe remark, p. 159, that " obligations of this kind are but too commonly, to the disgrace of literature, very industriously and ungratefully suppressed."—The jesuit Hermannus Hugo †, or rather his excellent annotator, has some

* In Morte d'Arthur, a fair damoysel sends Sir Palomedes a " pensel," and prays him " to fyghte with Sire Corsalryn for her love, and he shold have her, and her landes of her faders that sholde falle to her." Book X. capit. xlvii. vol. ii. p. 76 of the 4to reprint from Caxton's edition of 1485.

† Hugo's book was first published in a small volume at Antwerp, 1618. But the best edition has the following title: Hermannus Hugo, societatis Jesu, de prima scribendi origine et universa rei literariæ antiquitate, sui notas, opusculum de scribis, apologiam pro Waechtlero, præfationem et indices adjecit C. H. TROTZ, JCtus. Traj. ad Rhen. 1738, with plates, in one vol. 8vo. The reference is to the note, p 339 of this edition. There is also a French abridgment.

XUM

sharp lines against plagium literarium,—"and *plagium* is felony," says Counsellor Pleydell in "Guy Mannering." According to Trotz, however, the criminals appear to escape by pleading benefit of clergy, for, saith he, *Hoc hominum genere abundavit semper res literaria, et præter notam infamiæ pœnam habent nullam*;—i. e. that the world of letters has ever been infested with ruffians of this description, who contrive to escape with no heavier punishment than a brand of infamy.

But to return from this digression.

With the passage in the novel it will also be worth while to compare the Bridal of Triermain, Canto II. stanzas xxiii. xxiv.

THE MONASTERY. Motto to vol. ii. chap. i. p. 208.

Lines 181—184 of "Christ's Kirk on the Green," written by King James V. of Scotland *, who was born in 1511, and died 1542, p. 26 of Ritson's "Caledonian Muse," already quoted.

"The Millar was of manlie mak,
To meit him was na mowis,
Thair durst na ten cum him to tak,
So nobbit he thair nowis."

A former editor renders "*mows*" mockery, or jest. Thus Lindsay of Pitscottie, of Sinclair, when the lords seized him, "Is it *mows*, or earnest, my lords?" "Battle of Harlaw," stanza 19.

"Their was nae *mowis* there them amang,
Naithing was hard bot heavy knocks."

The French say, *faire la moue*, to laugh at one; and hence Chaucer, Troilus and Cressida, lib. iv. 1, of Lady Fortune;

"And whan a wight is from her whele ithrow,
Than laugheth she, and *maketh him the mowe*."

P. 170 of that monarch's strange publication, entitled "Two Ancient Scottish Poems: The Gaberlunzie-Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with notes and observations by John Callander, Esq. of Craigforth." Edinb. 1782, 8vo.

Bale, in his preface to "The Actes of Englysh Votaryes," 1546, black letter, fol. 4, says,

"The lerned allegacyons, reasons, & argumentes of Phylypp Melăchton, Luther, Lambert, Pomeraine, Barnes, and soche other,

---

* Mr. George Chalmers first collected the Poetic Remains of some of the Scottish Kings, in one volume post 8vo. Lond. 1824. The fourth of the above lines he reads,

"So *nowit* he their *nowis*."

See his note, p. 168. It is to be regretted that this editor, in the present instance, did not think it necessary to ascertain the original orthography of the poems, a task, however, of no trifling difficulty.

they haue hearde, but the answere is yet to make. They *mocke and mowe* at thē like jack a napes, or lyke them which went vp & downe by the crosse whan Christ was crucyfyed, and that is ynough for them."

The word occurs at a much later period in L'Estrange's translation * of Quevedo's Visions; and there still remains the vulgar phrase—scarcely to be named to ears polite—of *making mouths at a person.*

—— iii. chap. xi. p. 234.

The four last lines of the seventh stanza of "Gil Morrice," a ballad, consisting of twenty-six stanzas of eight and ten lines, printed in vol. ii. 157, of Ritson's Scotish Songs, Lond. 1794. Also in vol. iii. of Percy's Reliques.

"And quhen he came to broken brigue,
He bent his bow and swam;
And quhen he came to grass growing,
Set down his feet and ran."

So also in stanza vii. of "The Knight and Shepherd's daughter," quoted in Fletcher's comedy of the Pilgrim, Act IV. Sc. 1. and printed at length by Percy, Reliques, vol. iii. p. 115, ed. 1812.

"But when she came to the brode watèr,
She sett her brest and swamme;
And when she was got out againe,
She tooke to her heels and ranne."

THE ABBOT. Motto to vol. i. chap. vii. p. 241,

is the first stanza of "Todlen Home;" four stanzas printed in "Ancient and Modern Scotish Songs," &c. Edinb. 1791, vol. ii. p. 218.

"Whan I 've a saxpence under my thum,
Then I 'll get credit in ilka town:
But ay whan I 'm poor, they bid me gang by;
O! poverty parts good company.
Todlen hame, todlen hame,
Cou'dna my love come todlen hame?"

Ritson explains "Todlen, todling, walking with a rolling short step, like a child, rolling, tottering."

—— i. chap. xiv. p. 245.

The air,

"Hey trix trim go trix under the grene wode tree,"

---

* Of which the eleventh edition, corrected, was printed at London, 1715. 'Others they call'd *apes* (and we *mimicks*); these were perpetually making of *mopps*, and *mowes*, and a thousand antick ridiculous gestures, in derision and imitation of others.'—p 18, 19.

is preserved in the "Specimen of a Book called 'Ane Compendious Boke of Godlie Songs,'" &c. Edinb. 1765, 12mo. "These Godlie Songs," says Pinkerton, "Ancient Scotish Poems," p. 495, "are written to the tunes of profane ballads, common in 1597, when the publication appeared. From it we therefore learn the stanza of the several songs imitated:" for specimens, see Pinkerton as above, and p. li. of the Historical Essay prefixed to vol. i. of Ritson's Scotish Songs.

—— p. 252.

From the ballad of "Lord Thomas and fair Annet," in Percy's Reliques, vol. iii. p. 296, edit. 1812.

"My maides, gae to my dressing-roome,
And dress to me my hair;
Whair-eir yee laid a plait before,
See yee lay ten times mair."

—— p. 258.

In the fifth verse of "The Knight and Shepherd's Daughter," which has been just mentioned, as printed in Percy's Reliques, iii. p. 115.

"Some do call mee Jacke, sweet heart,
And some do call mee Jille;
But when I come to the kings faire courte
They calle me Wilfulle Wille."

—— Motto to iii. chap. ix. p. 260,

is, perhaps, the fifth verse from the end of the ballad last quoted, which consists altogether, as given in the Reliques, of twenty-five stanzas.

"He sett her on a milk-white steede,
And himself upon a graye;
He hung a bugle about his necke,
And soe they rode awaye."

Some other ballad will very probably supply a stanza more completely similar.

The Pirate. Motto to vol. i. chap. iii. p. 282.

"O Bessy Bell and Mary Gray,
They war twa bonny lasses,
They bigg'd a bower on yon burn brae,
And theeked o'er wi rashes.
Fair Bessy Bell I loo'ed yestreen,
And thought I ne'er could alter,
But Mary Gray's twa pawky een,
They gar my fancy falter;"

is the first of four stanzas, vol. i. 270, of "Antient and Modern Scotish Songs, Edinb. 1791."

Pawky, means witty, sly.

—— Motto to iii. chap. x. p. 344.

is the first stanza of an excellent old song printed in the "Reliques," iii. p. 294.

"Over the mountains,
And over the waves;
Under the fountains,
And under the graves;
Under floods that are deepest,
Which Neptune obey;
Over rocks that are steepest,
Love will find out the way."

With four other stanzas.

——— Motto to iii. chap. xiii. p. 345.

The first four lines of the thirteenth stanza of "The Not-browne Maid," first published in Arnolde's Chronicle, and which afforded the groundwork of Prior's "Henry and Emma." A corrected copy is given in the "Reliques," vol. ii. p. 28, and in Capel's "Prolusions."

"For an outlawe this is the lawe,
That men hym take and bynde;
Without pytè, hanged to be,
And waver with the wynde.
If I had nede, (as God forbede!)
What rescous coude ye fynde?
Forsoth, I trowe, ye and your bowe
For fere wolde drawe behynde:
And no mervayle; for lytell avayle
Were in your counceyle than:
Wherefore I wyll to the grene wode go,
Alone, a banyshed man."

KENILWORTH, vol. iii. chap. v. p. 85.

The original of the incident here given to Michael Lambourne is published from one of the Harleian MSS. in Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes," p. xxxi. and in the notes to the reprint of Gascoigne's "Princely Pleasures," in Nichols' "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

PEVERIL OF THE PEAK, vol. iv. chap. ii. p. 42.

"Now," thought Jerningham within himself, "if Christian knew the Duke as well as I do, he would sooner stand the leap of a lion, like the London 'prentice bold, than venture on my master at this moment, who is even now in a humour nearly as dangerous as the animal."

In the third volume of Evans's "Old Ballads," Lond. 1810, p. 178, is printed "The honour of a London 'Prentice. Being an account of his matchless manhood and brave adventures done in Turkey, and by what means he married the king's daughter."—From a black letter copy by Coles, Vere, and Wright.

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This fortunate youth was born in Cheshire; and having given satisfaction to his master, "a merchant on the Bridge," he was sent for three years to Turkey as factor. In less than a year after his arrival in that country, at a *tournament* * he brought to the ground

"One score of knights most hardy,"

who had ventured to deny Queen

"Elizabeth to be the pearl
Of princely majesty."

"The king of that same country
Thereat began to frown,
And will'd his son, there present,
To pull this youngster down."

The "English boy," nothing daunted by the rank of his opponent, returned with interest the "boasting speeches" of the heir apparent:

"And therewithal he gave him
A box upon the ear,
Which broke his neck asunder,
As plainly doth appear.

Now know, proud Turk, said he,
I am no English boy
That can with one small box o' th' ear
The prince of Turks destroy."

The monarch's trouble was by no means diminished by the loss of his son; and, as a fitting punishment for him who had caused it,

"He swore that he should die
The cruell'st death that ever man
Beheld with mortal eye."

Two lions, which had not eaten a morsel of food for ten days, were prepared: at the appointed time there was a strong muster of "all the noble ladies and barons of the land,"

"To see this 'prentice slain,
And buried in the hungry maws
Of those fierce lions twain."

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* A Mr. Smith, whose "Travels and Adventures in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America," between the years 1593 and 1629, are noticed in Dibdin's "Library Companion," p. 384, *note*, appears to have much distinguished himself in this manner, since he "vanquishes several great champions at tournaments." See the note referred to.

. . . . . .

" For when the hungry lions
Had cast on him their eyes,
The elements did thunder
With the echo of their cries:
And running all amain
His body to devour,
Into their throats he thrust his arms,
With all his might and power:

" From thence by manly valour
Their hearts he tore in sunder,
And at the king he threw them,
To all the people's wonder."

At this unexpected issue of the exhibition, his majesty's terror fully equalled his hate: he suddenly changed his tone,

" And said it was some angel
Sent down from heaven above."

The courteous young man entirely disclaimed the slightest pretension to angelic nature, in a manner which greatly edified the Turkish monarch, who makes a very penitent speech:

" So taking up this young man,
He pardon'd him his life,
And gave his daughter to him,
To be his wedded wife:
Where then they did remain,
And live in quiet peace,
In spending of their happy days
In joy and love's increase."

That in times of yore it was by no means unexampled, for a London apprentice to wed with the blood royal, is abundantly shown in T. Heywood's " Foure Prentises of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem," in which Eustace, the grocer's 'prentice, is introduced wooing the daughter of the King of France. Warton's opinion, that Beaumont and Fletcher's comedy of the " Knight of the Burning Pestle" was expressly intended to cast ridicule upon Heywood's play, is controverted by the editor of the new edition of Dodsley's " Old Plays," vol. vi. p. 401, where the play is to be found.

Heywood's drama is mentioned by name in Act IV. of that comedy.

" *Boy.* Besides, it will shew ill-favouredly to have a grocer's prentice to court a king's daughter.

" *Cit.* Will it so, sir? You are well read in histories! I pray you, what was Sir Dagonet? Was he not prentice to a grocer in London? Read the play of The Four Prentices of London, where they toss their pikes so . . . ."

The phrase of "tossing their pikes" will be best explained by a reference to the fac-simile of the original title-page, "Old Plays," *ut supra*, p. 395.

An able letter, upon the violations of the regular chronology of the times represented in Peveril of the Peak, appeared in the "Kaleidoscope," a kind of literary newspaper published at Liverpool. The same work contains the narrative of the Siege of Lathom-house, with valuable notes: these two articles might be printed in a small volume with advantage. We wish also to point out, to such of our readers as may not hitherto have noticed it, an excellent "Letter from Posterity to the Author of Waverley," in an early number of the Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine.

QUENTIN DURWARD. Motto to vol. ii. chap. i.

"Painters shew Cupid blind—hath Hymen eyes?
Or is his sight warp'd by those spectacles
Which parents, guardians, and advisers, lend him,
That he may look through them on lands and mansions,
On jewels, gold, and all such rich dotations,
And see their value ten times magnified—
Methinks 'twill brook a question."

The Miseries of Enforced Marriage.

If our memory do not greatly deceive us, no such lines occur in the only "Old Play" bearing that title, with which we are acquainted. "The Miseries of Inforst Marriage," by George Wilkins, is reprinted in vol. v. of the recent edition of Dodsley's "Old Plays."

—— ii. ix. p. 195.

"It was a squyer of lowe degrè,
That loved the king's doughter of Hungrè,"

occurs in p. 145, vol. iii. of Ritson's "Ancient English Metrical Romances," Lond. 1802.

—— ii. x. p. 230.

"Welcome, she sayd, my love so dere,
Myne own dere heart, and my squyer;
I shall you geve kisses thre,
A thousande pounde unto your fe."—Ibid. l. 571-4.

—— p. 231.

"For I have sene that many a page
Have become men by marriage."—Ibid. l. 373-4.

It is believed that no MS. of this poem exists; the only known copy is in the British Museum (Garrick's Plays, K. vol. 9), printed by Copland, 4to. without date; but between the years 1560 and 1569,—"and from the apparent modernization of the printed copy, [the poem] seems of much greater antiquity."—

Ritson's Notes, p. 344. Mr. Ellis places it in the reign of Henry VI. *i. e.* between 1421 and 1461; see his "Specimens of English Poetry," i. p. 338, where he has extracted a speech of the king of Hungary, extending to above one hundred lines, in which are recited all the amusements known to the fair sex during the middle ages: this curious and tempting enumeration the Princess terminates with the following abrupt and laconic answer;

> "Gramercy, father, so mote i thè*,
> For all these things lyketh not me."
>
> l. 853-4, Ed. Ritson.

It must be confessed that Quentin, in fortitude and energetic decision, is far superior to his equally fortunate prototype, who pours forth a most pitiable appeal (lines 534-545) to his lady-love, upon finding himself involved in an ambuscade, when going to take leave of the princess. We must allow that the odds were considerable against him, as thirty-four knights, with the steward, who in most romances is depicted as an abominable traitor, at their head, had stationed themselves in the neighbourhood of the lady's chamber—

> "Armed with a great company,
> And beset it one eche side,
> *For treason walketh wonder wyde*†."—l. 518--520.

From this speech the squire's character appears to have suffered materially, as the reader may learn from Ritson's note upon v. 541.

> "Undo your dore, my lady swete."

"From this repeated exclamation of the poor terrify'd squire, he seems to have acquired it as a nickname, the printer's colophon being—'Thus endeth—*Undo your dore*, otherwise called the sqyr of lowe degre.'"

By this prompt courage Quentin in a great measure avoids the reproach urged against his predecessors, in the "Letters on the Author of Waverley:" see letter viii. p. 197, et seq. of the second edition, 1822.

The literal and verbal variations between the lines given above, and as quoted in the novel, lead us to suppose that the adaptation of passages to the existing circumstances of the novels, which has been already remarked, is not altogether wilful. It is easy to conceive that the fanciful and indistinct combinations of a richly stored poetical memory may readily have been blended upon occasion, to assume a form not possessed by the originals.

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* Mote I thè—may I thrive. A very common expression in early poems of this class.

† This remarkable line perhaps admits of two interpretations. It may have reference to the approach of the squire; or, what seems more probable, and is certainly more forcible, to the ambushed party.

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This hypothesis, of course, falls immediately to the ground, in case it should happen that the MS. stores, in the delightful little octangular turret-room at Hautlieu (Introd. to Quentin Durward, p. lviii.) or one sparkling and invaluable copy of the "Strasbourg romaunt"—perchance contained among the *ceimelia* of a certain *bibliotheca abscondita*, to borrow a title from Sir Thomas Browne, which has already given to the world the poetical triflings* of a cavalier, claiming, from his "playfulness" and "ease of expression," to rank considerably above the "mob of gentlemen who write with ease," authorize the various readings.

Should this copy be moreover on vellum, and uncut, as Dr. Dibdin says, it will have the rare fortune of satisfying, either substantially or virtually, the eight qualifications, of which any one is sufficient to make a book desirable in the eyes of a collector. To obviate the possibility of a doubt, the historian has particularly mentioned what Chaucer terms the "letteres blake" (Frere's Tale, 6946); and should any envious caviller venture to suggest that it is not upon large paper, the insinuation will probably excite no very painful feeling, in the breast of the more than thrice-happy possessor. How far the copy may be "illustrated," must remain for the present a moot point.

——— ii. chap. xiii. p. 315.

"O how freedom is noble thing:
For it makes men to have liking.
Freedome all solace to men gives
He lives at ease who freely lives:
A noble heart may have none ease,
For nought else that it may please,
If freedom failyee†, for free liking
Is yarned ‡ above all other thing.
O he that hath ay lived free,
May not know well the property,
The anger, nor the wretched dome,
That is coupled unto thirldome;
But if he had assayed it,
Then all perqueir § he might it wit:
And should think freedome more to prise
Then all the gold men can devise."
&c. &c. *Barbour's Bruce*, i. 225, et seq.

This extract is made from p. 9 of the rare edition of "The Acts and Life of the most meritorious Conqueror, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. Edinb. printed by Andrew Anderson, and are to

* We allude to the "Triviall Poems and Triolets" of one Patrick Casey. See the concluding paragraph of the preface to the publication of his poems.

† Failyee—fail you.

‡ Yarned—yearned, eagerly desired, longed for.

§ Perqueir—"perfectly; *parcœur?*"—Ellis.

be sold, &c." 1670, 24mo.; formerly in the Roxburghe Library; which, in the choice and precious collection, not merely of printed books, but of manuscripts, where it now rests, shines, indeed; but is far from shining——

——— velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

The reader will remark that the text of this edition appears considerably adulterated: it differs much from the extract given by Mr. Ellis (Specimens of the English Poets, vol. i. pp. 236-8), which is taken from the Perth edition of 1790, printed under the superintendence of Pinkerton.

Barbour's birth has been variously dated, 1316, 1320, 1326, 1330. From the chartulary of Aberdeen, where he had an archdeaconry, we learn that he died aged, towards the close of 1395. See pp. i. ii. and xii. of the life of Barbour, prefixed to the standard edition of "The Bruce," published by Dr. Jamieson, Edinb. 1820, 4to.

—— Motto to vol. iii. chap. xxvii. p. 273.

In Leyden's legendary poem of "Lord Soulis," vol. iii. p. 249 of the Minstrelsy of the Border; p. 65 of Leyden's Poetical Remains, Lond. 1819; that chieftain says,

"What would you do, young Branxholm,
Gin ye had me, as I have thee?"——
"I would take you to the good greenwood,
And gar your ain hand wale* the tree."

"Now shall thine ain hand wale the tree,
For all thy mirth and meikle pride;
And May shall choose, if my love she refuse,
A scrog bush thee beside."

In perusing the account of the murder of the good-hearted Louis of Bourbon, at Schonwaldt, as related in the novel, in consequence of the combined attack of his rebellious but dismayed Liegeois, and the followers of the Boar of Ardennes, with the fearful punishment that was exacted for the crime, the reader is forcibly reminded of the following passage in "Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk" (Letter XII.) where the writer is speaking of the Place de Louis Quinze:

"Here, upon the very spot where I now stand, the most virtuous of the Bourbon race expiated, by a violent death, inflicted by his own subjects, and in view of his own palace, the ambitions and follies of his predecessors. There is an awful solemnity in the reflection, how few of those who contributed to this deed of injustice and atrocity now look upon the light, and behold the progress of retribution."

* Wale—choose.

Comines does not give quite so favourable a character of the "bishop (brother of the two dukes of Bourbon, John II. and Peter II.), being a man addicted wholly to pleasure and good cheer, and scarce distinguishing good from bad of himself*."

It is one very amiable, though very dangerous, characteristic of the "Author of Waverley," that throughout his works we perceive a wish, generally speaking, to veil and extenuate the weaknesses and faults of those historical personages whom he has occasion to mention.

It should be mentioned, that Louis of Bourbon did not lose his life until some time† after the death of the Bold Duke of Burgundy; nor was William de la Marck personally concerned in the revolt of the Liegeois, which preceded the confinement of Louis XI. at Peronne, and was led by "a knight, called Monsieur William de Ville, alias by the French, le Sauvage." Comines, p. 102. In that disturbance, however, one of the bishop's most confidential domestics was brutally butchered before the face of his master, while the wretches who committed the outrage flung at each other the mangled limbs of their victim. The bishop was led as a prisoner into the city, from which he escaped upon the approach of the king and the duke of Burgundy. His death is thus mentioned in Bulteel's Mezeray, fol. London, 1688, p. 504: "1482, William de la Mark, called the wild boar of Ardenne, incited and assisted by the king, massacred, most inhumanely, Lewis de Bourbon, bishop of Liege, either in an ambuscade, or after he had defeated him in battle,‡ and soon after himself, being taken by the lord de Horne, brother to the

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* P. 202 of the Memoirs of Philip de Comines, faithfully translated into English from the edition of Denys Godefroy, Lond., 1674, 8vo.

† From the narrative of Comines, it would appear that he perished in the year following the death of the duke, who lost his life before Nanci, 6th Jan., 1477. Mezeray, as will be seen, does not mention it until the year 1482: his words are, "au mesmes temps encore il donna trois mille hommes a Guillaume de la Mark, dit le sanglier d'Ardenne, pour le deffaire de l'Evesque du Liege, trop affectioné, à ce qu'il soupçonnoit, au party Bourguignon. Ce Guillaume, de son chef, gardoit une cruelle inimitié contre cet Evesque, parce qu'il l'avoit chassé de sa Maison, où peu de temps auparavant il avoit este en grande faveur. Tellement que l'ayant pris par la trahison des Liegeois, comme il estoit sorty du Liege pour le combatre, il le massacra inhumainement de sa propre main, et le fit traîner tout nud dans la grande place de la Ville devant le Temple de S. Lambert. Mais peu de temps aprés, Maximilian l'ayant atrapé, luy fit avec justice trancher la teste." Ed. 1685, tome ii. pp. 744-5.

‡ Comines, p. 230, tells us, that he slew the bishop with his own hands in battle, and caused his body to be thrown into the river, where it was found three days afterwards.

bishop, successor to Lewis, had his head cut off at Mastrict." From Comines it appears that de la Marck, who is styled "a brave person, and a valiant gentleman, but cruel and malicious," had an idea of placing his own son in the bishopric, with the assistance of the king of France.

The anachronism caused by thus antedating the death of the bishop may not be without excuse, as deepening the interest of a fictitious narrative. A more strange oversight is committed in the *rifacimento* of the king's prayer to the lady of Clery, as given by Brantome, where the author of Quentin Durward (vol. iii. ch. v. p. 128) has retained the passage respecting the death of Charles the duc de Guienne, who was personally interested in the treaty of Peronne, and was not poisoned until three or four years after, viz. in 1471. Mezeray thus tells the story, which is not a little romantic:

"He loved a lady, daughter of the Lord Monserau, and widdow of Lewis d'Amboise, and had for confessor a certain Benedictine Monk, Abbot of St. John d'Angely, named John Favre Versois. This wicked monk poyson'd a very fair peach, and gave it to that lady, who, at a collation, put it to steep in wine, presented one-half of it to the Prince, and eat the other herself. She, being tender, died in a short time; the Prince, more robust, sustained for some while the assaults of the venome, but however could not conquer it, and in the end yielded his life to it.

"Such as adjust all the phenomena's of the Heavens to the accidents here below might have applied to this same a comet of extraordinary magnitude, which was visible fourscore days together from the month of December. Its head was in the sign of the Ballance, and it had a long tail, turning a little towards the north."—P. 494, Bulteel.

The duke died on the 12th of May. The king was very anxious to get the perpetrator of the crime out of the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who had been thrown into inexpressible rage on hearing the catastrophe of Charles. "The monk was found dead in prison, the devil, as was said, having broken his neck the night before that day wherein they were to pronounce his sentence. This was what the king desired, that so the proof of the crime might perish with the poysoner." P. 495.

In Dr. Dibdin's "Tour," iii. p. 591, there is a very beautiful miniature figure of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, at prayers: it is taken from a manuscript breviary on vellum, of the fifteenth century, executed for his use. A more hard-featured and truculent-looking visage is scarcely to be imagined than that prefixed to one of the four portraits intended to adorn the frontispiece of the edition of the "Mémoires de Comines."

We presume that the "courtly and martial" Galeotti was himself a memorable example of the vanity of his science, as to the per-

sonal fortunes of its professors*; it being his fate to break his neck at Lyons in 1476, at his first interview with Louis XI., owing to his dismounting too precipitately from his horse, in order to salute his new patron. Others, among whom is, we believe, Paulus Jovius, relate that he was seized with a fit of apoplexy at Padua.

At the close of his own life, Louis placed all hope in his physician, James Coctier, who received 10,000 crowns by the month for the last five months. See Comines, b. vi. xii. and Mezeray, p. 505.

He summoned also from Calabria a holy hermit, whom Comines (b. vi. 8.) calls Friar Robert; but, according to Mezeray, his name was "Francis Martotile, ... founder of the order of Minimes."—"This hermit," says Comines, "at the age of twelve years was put in a hole in a rock, where he continued three-and-forty years and upwards, till the king sent for him by the master of his household, in the company of the prince of Tarante, the king of Naples' son. But the said hermit would not stir without leave from his holiness, and from his king, which was great discretion in so inexperienced a man."

The king, says Mezeray, "flattered him, implored him, fell on his knees to him;" and, according to Comines, "adored him, as if he had been Pope himself." "But this good man, in answer, talked to him of God, and exhorted him to think more of the other life than this."—Mezeray, p. 505.

We remember to have seen a story, that Louis, suspecting the death of a lady whom he regarded with affection had been occasioned by the prediction of an astrologer, summoned the supposed delinquent into his presence, intending to take very summary vengeance. The wary sage, set upon his guard by the tenour of the first question put by the monarch: "Tell me, thou that art so learned, what shall be thy fate?"—humbly represented, that he foresaw his death would happen three days before his majesty's. The king, it was added, very carefully avoided putting him to death.

REDGAUNTLET, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 22.

The case before the town-bailies of Cupar-Angus, when Luckie Simpson's cow had drunk up Luckie Jamieson's browst of ale, while it stood in the door to cool, is very fully and facetiously detailed in Franck's "Northern Memoirs," of which a reprint was lately published at Edinburgh, under the reported superintendence of Sir Walter Scott.

The Jacobite intrigues which wind up the plot of this novel are best understood by a reference to Dr. King's "Anecdotes of his own Times," p. 36, and 196, et seq. Lond. 1819.

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* Even Apollo was compelled to exclaim—
"Nec prosunt domino, quæ prosunt omnibus, artes!"—Ovid. Met. i. 524.

TALES OF THE CRUSADERS.

An error in heraldry, in Ivanhoe, where "a fetterlock and shackle-bolt azure" are blazoned upon a sable shield, has been noticed as having a curious and remarkable parallel in Marmion, where a falcon is said to have

"Soared sable in an azure field."—Canto I, stanzas vi. and viii.*

It may be added, that the unauthorized word, "wroken," which is found Canto II. stanza xxvii. of the "Bridal of Triermain"—

"Merlin's magic doom is spoken:
Vanoc's death must now be wroken"—

occurs likewise in Vauda's prophecy in the first of these stories.

"How," asked Ulysses, addressing his guardian goddess, "shall I be able to recognise Proteus in the swallow that skims round our houses, whom I have been accustomed to behold as a swan of Phœbus, measuring his movements to a celestial music?"—"In both alike," she replied, "thou canst recognise the god†."

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* Much absurd criticism has been wasted upon these "errors in Heraldry," because every tyro in the "Art of Blason" has been taught, that to place a colour upon a colour, or a metal upon a metal, is false heraldry. But, though such is undoubtedly one of the canons of Heralds, many ancient coats exhibit a deviation from it; and, hence, Sir Walter Scott's supposed mistakes may be justified by undoubted precedents, of which it is sufficient to cite the following. Perhaps the oldest armorial ensigns known are those of Jerusalem, *Argent*, a cross potent between four crosses potent, *or;* and to which Cleveland thus alludes:

"Metal on metal is false heraldry;
And yet the known Godfrey of Bouloign's coat
Shines in exception to the herald's vote."

A Roll of Arms, compiled in the early part of the reign of Edward the Second, circa 1310, presents, among others, the subjoined instance of a colour being placed upon a colour: "Sir Richard de Rokesle, de *azure* a vj lioncels de argent a une fesse de *goules*:" and the arms of the present Lord de Tabley contain a similar anomaly, they being *azure*, a fess *gules* between three fleur de lis, or. But when the Union Banner itself is a violation of the rules of heraldry, such a fault in a mere novelist, even if it really existed, would scarcely justify so many remarks. It is not, however, our intention to defend that writer from the charge of being very imperfectly acquainted with Heraldry, for he scarcely ever alludes to it without committing himself; but the anachronisms with which Sir Walter's novels abound, with respect to manners, costume, and events, would have been a far more useful object of criticism, since they are so calculated to mislead.

† "The Friend," vol. iii. p. 100. ed. Lond. 1818.

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Wallstein, traduite de l'Allemand par M. Benjamin Constant de Rebecque. 8vo. *Paris*, 1809.

THE recent attention which has been directed to Schiller's tragedies of Wallenstein, naturally leads to research into those popular impressions on which the author calculated when he presented to his countrymen this singular personification of an extinct species, and vivid picture of an age so peculiarly fit to become the property of romance. Favoured by the haze which two centuries throw over the character of men and events, Schiller might have ventured greater liberties with the truth than he has taken. But he has not affronted the imaginative cast of the Germans by defacing, or essentially altering, their traditions. He has only blended, with what they have heard from their fathers, with what lives in monuments scattered over their land, a few inventions accordant with the spirit of those traditions, and beyond the province of the historian. He has filled up, from the richness of his genius, the outline left on the minds of a romantic people by an æra of thrilling interest and excitement.

Wallenstein belonged to the heroic age of the German empire. He was among the last of a race of towering spirits, whose fire and activity raised them nearly on a par with the demi-gods of antiquity, and strongly contrasted them with their sluggish, contemplative descendants. An Iliad might be composed of the men who figured in the thirty-years' war; and, as far as the martial spirit and wild originality of its heroes, it would not fall short of its great original. It would have this ingredient of the sublime, that throughout the land where the German language is spoken the names of the mighty dead of that war are associated with everlasting impressions. Imagination could scarce invest them with deeper lineaments than tradition has done; and if the attributes of terror prevail, it is because the nature of warfare in those days presented its conductors more frequently in the light of scourges of humanity than of defenders of its rights, or avengers of its wrongs. But the poet who could catch and transmit what was truly great and majestic in their character would be reckoned among the benefactors of his country. Whether the writings of Schiller have not tended to graft some portion of the stirring, chivalrous energy of the seventeenth century on the German character of the nineteenth, is an investigation which we may not here pursue; but, certainly, we should infer from his "Wallenstein" that he has made the regeneration as easily as possible, by giving to his warriors of the former period all that metaphysical motive and abstraction so much in vogue among the Germans of the latter times.

Körner, at least, was transformed by Schiller's magic, and superinduced the soldier over the poet and profound idealist.

What first strikes us in the three tragedies of Wallenstein is the perfect indifference of Schiller to adapt them to the taste of any nation but his own, or even to suit them to the dramatic rules observed in Germany. He seems to have been less solicitous to weave a fable that should please, and act well, by the gradual development of its parts, than to omit none of the traits that might recall the military enthusiasm of a glorious epoch, and connect it with the fascinations of high poetical conception. In one of these tragedies the *action* is not even commenced; and yet it is in that very one that the grandeur of Wallenstein, as a chieftain, is most strikingly pourtrayed. Every thing in it has reference to him. All the characters talk of him, fear him, feel him present, till the spectator almost partakes of the illusion; and becomes conscious of the might of that man before whom so many and so variously constituted minds bow down. The whole riot and disorder of the camp is ocularly before him; and he hears the terms upon which these ferocious troopers of every creed and country consent to march under Wallenstein, and to know no will but his. Without this preparation we should miss that which gives such immense interest to the "taking off" of this ambitious chief—the assurance that he might have attained his object but for himself alone.

In the words of M. Benjamin Constant de Rebecque,

"The scenes follow one another without being linked together. But this incoherence is natural: it is a moving picture, where there is no past nor future. The genius of Wallenstein presides over this apparent confusion. The minds of all are full of him—all celebrate his praise, agitate themselves with the rumours of the count's dissatisfaction, and vow never to forsake the general who protects them. We distinguish the symptoms of an insurrection ready to break out if Wallenstein but give the word; and, at the same moment, we unravel the secret motives that modify the attachment of each individual—the fears, the mistrusts, and the private interests that swell the general impulse. We behold an armed people a prey to every popular fermentation; impelled by their enthusiasm, and retarded by their misgivings; striving to reason, and not succeeding from want of practice; spurning allegiance, yet making it a point of honour to obey their chief; trampling upon religion, yet hearkening eagerly to every superstitious tradition; but still a people inveterately proud of their strength, and full of contempt for every profession but that of arms; who know no virtue but courage, and no aim but the pleasures of the day."

"It would be impossible to produce upon our stage this singular production of the genius, accuracy, and, I shall add, erudition of the Germans; for it required no little erudition to collect into one body all the points that distinguished the armies of the seventeenth century,

and which appertain no longer to any modern army. In our days every thing in the camp, as in the city, is fixed, regular, and subordinate. Discipline has superseded commotion. If partial disorders occur, they are mere exceptions, which are provided for; but in the thirty-years' war, disorder was the permanent state, and the enjoyment of gross licentiousness the amends for dangers and fatigues."

"Armies in those days were not, as in ours, subject to political authority." They were rather a body of partisans of some celebrated leader, who had little or no commission from sovereign powers. He it was who enlisted them, paid them, promoted them. His fame attracted and retained them, and pillage alone enabled him to support them. The generals themselves were, for the most part, men who had emancipated themselves from all authority and institutions. The sword was their only appeal. Some scheme of ambition or revenge incited them to muster a little troop of followers by influence on their paternal estates, or simply by favour of the renown of their juvenile exploits. With these they dashed into the thick of quarrels between sovereign states, and managed either to turn the fortune of an action, or to do some gallant feat, by which they earned a reputation that was thenceforth the gauge of their importance in the struggles of the empire. "It was not princes only, but German and foreign gentlemen, who, with no ascendancy but military genius, levied little armies, and sold themselves to the contending sovereigns; or, sword in hand, attempted to become sovereigns themselves."

The state of the times fostered this military enthusiasm. Oppression, insecurity, and habitual turbulence had thrown all ranks out of their natural state of citizenship. The chance of safety, if not of success, was on the side of the soldier rather than the peasant. The more the plains were desolated, the more recruits were driven into the ranks: men plundered of all their effects, and cruelly outraged in their domestic relations, soon became plunderers themselves, and sought a brutal retribution for their wrongs by violating the homes of others. They but looked round for the leader who, by the success of his arms, or the license of his camp, promised most to gratify their ravening appetites: under him they ranged themselves even against the religion they professed; and under him they continued till their propensities were checked, when they immediately deserted in battalions to the standard of the enemy. The pretence of religion but added fuel to the flames: it armed the fanatics of all creeds. But the real motive of the war was less to establish the principles of the Reformation than to secure the independence of the numerous princes of the empire: and though the former object was effected along with the latter, every one who looks into the constitution of the armies that

produced it must admit that it was brought about as much by the enemies, as by the friends, of the Reformation.

To embody all these characteristics of the age, and to force them on the mind of the spectator, demanded a much larger share of a drama than is usually given to the detail of external coincidences not essential to the plot. Schiller has united them in one play, called "The Camp of Wallenstein;" a prologue, as it were, of nearly two thousand lines, in which no part of the action that constitutes the drama is unfolded. He has equally violated the established rules in his "Piccolomini;" for though in it the plot commences, and the subordinate agents are displayed, yet the curtain drops before any thing is concluded, as if mere suspense were its ultimate aim. It is only in the third piece, "The Death of Wallenstein," that the interest awakened by the preceding two is satisfied; yet it is deficient in this, that it jumps *in medias res*, without any explanation of what is gone before.

"The three pieces appear incapable of being represented separately: they are, however, in Germany. The Germans thus tolerate a piece without action, as The Camp; an action without development (*denouement*), as The Piccolomini; and a development without previous exposition, as The Death of Wallenstein."

Though we shall make ample use of the preface and notes of M. B. Constant de Rebecque, it will not be for the purpose of attracting attention to his version of "Wallstein, traduite de l'Allemand;" because, as he admits, it is no translation.

"There is not a single scene in the three tragedies of Schiller which I have retained entire: there are some in my piece the idea of which is not to be found in Schiller. *He* has forty-eight *dramatis personæ*, while I have only twelve. The unities have obliged me to recast the whole."

Yet he has not come up to the beau ideal of a French tragedy. It would have been difficult, as he pathetically observes, to compress nine thousand verses into two thousand; especially as the Alexandrine, which is the only metre tolerated in French tragedy, forces a translator to use circumlocutions. However, he has altered, or distorted, at such a rate, that his "Wallstein" bears not the least resemblance to its original; and, as an original itself, is one of the tamest productions in the world. But, as his preface is a comparison on some points of German and French tragedy, we do not hesitate to retrieve a few of his remarks from the oblivion into which they have sunk by reason of their connexion with a work that never can be read as a translation of Schiller, nor yet as a fair sample of M. Constant's own genius. And we have no doubt that honour will redound to the German theatre from the contrast in which it is placed with that of France, by a

Frenchman, who formally gives the preference to his own, even when exhibiting its defects most prominently to view.

"German authors," he says, "are enabled to employ in the development of character a number of accessaries that could not, without derogating from the requisite dignity, be admitted on our stage. These, however, give life and truth to the picture."

He instances some of them. One is where Goëtz Von Berchlingen, in Goëthe's tragedy, having been long besieged, and almost starved in his castle, commands his lady—ladies carried the cellar-key in those days—to regale his thirsty followers with wine. The fair housewife, after some delay, produces a solitary flask, which she protests is the last; and that she had reserved it in a snug corner for him. This very affecting case M. Constant thinks would be laughed at on the French boards. The honest Germans, however, who regard drinking in a more serious light, sympathize with the hospitable Teutonic knight; and are startled into tears at this proof of his loving wife's consideration for her lord's partialities.

A better chosen instance is, where Joan d'Arc, in Schiller's tragedy, after having liberated France by her prowess, is persecuted by the ingrate people; and forced to fly the torments prepared for her as a witch. In a state of craving want she takes refuge in the cabin of a peasant, from whom she entreats a cup of water. She is about to convey it to her lips when the peasant's son enters, recognises her, and dashes the cup from her hand, with a rebuke of his father for affording relief to a sorceress. "Thus," says M. Constant, "by one word the two most striking circumstances, the epoch and the situation, are recalled to the mind of the spectator." Yet, this incident is proscribed from the French drama, chiefly because "the pomp inseparable from our Alexandrines demands a sustained nobleness" that would ill comport with the mention of such household utensils as cups or glasses, or such vulgar sensations as hunger and thirst. The French critics would actually split with laughter at the thought of a heroine guzzling upon the stage; and nothing would be able to save the tragedy from perdition.

"The Germans make ample use of these strokes. Unforeseen meetings, arrivals of subaltern characters, that are not indispensable to the main action, furnish them with a class of effects not known upon our theatre."—"With us every thing passes directly between the heroes and the public. The confidants are deliberately sacrificed. They are brought forward merely to listen, occasionally to give answers, and at times to narrate the death of the hero, who, in such case, cannot inform us of it personally. But there is nothing moral in their whole existence; every reflection, opinion, dialogue, is strictly forbidden them. It would be contrary to theatrical subordination for them to

excite the smallest interest:"—"they are machines, whose indispensable need alone make us overlook their improbability."

This view of French tragedy strongly corroborates the uxorious Frenchman's definition of opera. "Ma femme et cinq ou six poupettes—voilà un opéra!" A hero or heroine, and five or six machines—violà une tragédie! we should paraphrase it. "C'est nous qui faisons l'histoire!" said Napoleon to Talma, on witnessing his performance of Nero. If the tragedian can so mar and mutilate history as to make nonentities of all but his kings and heroes, and to make them what he pleases, then the vaunt would be more superb if Napoleon had said, "Talma, it is *we* who make Nature!"

"In German tragedies, independently of the heroes and their confidants, there is, upon a second plan, another cast of actors, who are themselves, in some sort, spectators of the principal action, which has a very indirect influence upon them. The impression made upon these by the situation of the principal *personæ* has often appeared to me to add to the effect made by that situation on the public. The opinion of the spectators is, as it were, anticipated and directed by an intermediate public, nearer to the scene of action, and not less impartial than themselves."

In this capacity, he thinks, the chorus of the ancients stood,

"Judging the sentiments and actions of kings and heroes whose crimes and miseries were set before them. By this judgment they established a moral correspondence between the scene and the public; and the public must have tasted some satisfaction in hearing its emotions defined and enounced in harmonious language."

Of course, but for this "harmonious language," our feelings would remain stagnant. Like the sages of the Flying Island, the public require some brain-bearer to tell them when to feel, and what to feel; and it is the perception we have of the acuteness of that slave who puts our thoughts into good wording for us that forms the greatest gratification of the drama! But M. Constant is enamoured of these "harmonious" puffs—these mimes who played "*secundas partes*," or second fiddle; to whom Aristophanes had but one objection, insuperable however,—the difficulty of finding a space for beings who belonged neither to the real nor the represented world. When pushed to extremities on this point, he made them articulating birds, croaking frogs, and even grumbling clouds.

Their advocate continues—

"I have once only seen a play, in which a modern had attempted to introduce the chorus. It was from Schiller's 'Betrothed of Messina.' I had gone to it with strong prejudices against this imitation of the ancients: nevertheless, those *general maxims* in the mouths of the people, that caught so much more truth and spirit from their ap-

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pearing to be suggested by the conduct of the chiefs, and by the misfortunes which that conduct heaped upon the speakers—this public sensation, personified in a manner which dived into my heart, to bring up my inmost thoughts, and to present them to me with greater precision, elegance, and force—this penetration of the poet, who guessed all that I must feel, and bodied forth what, in me, was but an unshaped dream, ('an airy nothing,') taught me to feel a new enjoyment, of which, till then, I had no conception."

It is surprising to hear this avowal from an individual of that nation which accused the English (*teste* Sterne) of appealing from the heart to the head, before they gave way to a soft or benevolent impulse. How much more justly would the charge be against those who require big words and lofty style to heighten the distress of a tragic scene; who feel not the accents wrung from grief or despair till a by-stander has set them off in figurative speech! To do this is, in fact, the great effort of French tragedy; and M. Constant had at least one good reason for his admiration of the chorus—the identity of its office with that of the characters of his native tragedy. These characters are not so virtually actors as lookers-on, who describe, rather than exhibit, passions; as if they stood aloof from themselves, and only felt what a witness of suffering, not a sufferer, feels.

The truth is, the French possess but little sympathy with personal sorrow, on or off the stage. The wrongs of an individual must be in a measure national before they can inflame that people. It is for orders and tribes they reserve their affections or antipathies. Theirs is a sort of generalizing fervour, that causes systems, and other creations of the intellect, to engross their enthusiasm, to the weakening of the ties of private life. With them, the pieties and charities are ethical duties, rather than heartfelt yearnings. They could regulate the mass of social and domestic relations by a system of *bienséances* and artificial sentiments, without once recurring to the throne of the genuine affections. A *scène*, or burst of nature, is a horror to their notions of decorum; and whatever resembles it, even on the stage, is shocking to their sense of propriety. As a substitute for such unruly explosions, their heroes twist and analyze common-place sentiments in their long soliloquies: or if they condescend to dialogue, it is only to bandy phrases and conventional maxims. To moralize well is the paramount perfection of their tragic hero; and in this he is admirably seconded by the strict interdiction of free speech to all the other *personæ*. To the same dearth of private sympathy, and exuberant love of display, we refer their flaunting eulogies of popular authors, which caused so much more sensation than the death of the subjects themselves. The loss of the man was unfelt till a La

Harpe had summed up his perfections in a vapouring panegyric; and then the whole nation was inconsolable.

M. Constant is so much in love with this by-play effect, that he thinks Schiller would have succeeded with his chorus but for two reasons: the first, that a number of actors, all speaking and gesticulating at the same time, would be likely, without good training, to produce a confusion bordering on the ridiculous. With us, the objections were insurmountable; but he has rested the failure of Schiller's renovation on another cause:

"In 'The Betrothed of Messina,' Schiller had denaturalized the chorus of antiquity, by dividing it into two factions, each composed of the partisans of a distinct hero; by which means he divested the chorus of that impartiality which gives weight and solemnity to its words."

And he very gravely assumes that

"The chorus ought to be the organ and representative of the whole people; all that it says should be a sombre and imposing repetition of the public sentiment. Nothing impassioned can become it: the moment it begins to act a part in the piece it is robbed of its nature, and loses its effect."

The Germans, he thinks, may dispense with these echoes; or rather, they have all the essence of such duplicate exciters, without the "confusion bordering on the ridiculous."

"Let us only compare what Schiller has done in his 'William Tell,' with what a Grecian would have done in like circumstances. Tell, escaped from the pursuit of Gessler, has scaled a wild rock, commanding the road along which the tyrant must pass. There the Swiss peasant awaits his enemy, holding the bow and arrow that must serve his vengeance, after having so well served his paternal love. He retraces, in a soliloquy, the ease and innocence of his past life, and gives way to wonder at finding himself so suddenly thrust by tyranny out of the peaceable and obscure condition to which fate seemed to have ordained him. He recoils from the act that he is about to commit. His yet unsullied hands shrink to die themselves in the blood even of the guilty. It must be done, however, if he would save his own life, that of his son, that of all the objects of his love. Doubtless, in a Grecian tragedy, the chorus would here have lifted up its voice, to reduce into *general maxims* the feelings that crowd upon the soul of the spectator. Schiller, *not having this resource*, supplies the defect by the introduction of a rustic wedding, that winds along the base of the rock to the sound of instruments. The contrast between the gayety of this laughing troop and the sadness of Tell suggests at once to the spectator all the reflections which the chorus could have expressed. Tell is of the same class as these careless villagers; like them, he was poor, unknown, bred to labour; his obscurity ought to have shielded him from a power so much above him, yet it has proved no defence. The Grecian Chorus would have expanded these truths in smooth sententious phrases.

German tragedy has displayed them with no less force, by the introduction of a number of persons unnecessary to the action, and having no ulterior connexion with it."

We are only surprised that M. Constant should trace any parallel between these true dramatic personages and beings that exist nowhere—neither in imagination nor reality. This *nullibi* oppresses the mind so painfully, that we would rather that some one from the side-boxes or pit should start up and comment upon the situations, than listen to the most specious chorus that was ever yet devised. It could only be his zeal in favour of a flimsy hypothesis, that forced the similitude on M. Constant: as his faith waxes stronger he sees types and archetypes of the chorus in the most integral components of the drama.

"These *secondary* personages serve to unfold thoroughly the chief characters. Werner, who unites two qualities apparently incompatible—the playful and witty observation of the human heart, with a deep and enthusiastic melancholy—presents to us in his 'Attila' the crowded court of Valentinian, yielding themselves up to balls, concerts, and all the giddy round of pleasure, while the flail of the gods is at the gates of Rome. We see the young emperor and his favourites solicitous only to repel the vexatious tidings that threaten to suspend their amusement; taking the truth for a symptom of disaffection, and forethought for an act of sedition; regarding as faithful subjects those only who disbelieve the facts, the knowledge of which would annoy them; and fancying to retard these events by doubting those who announce them. This heedlessness, laid before the spectator, impresses him more than a simple recital would have done."

Why, this is the very substance and spirit of the drama! Here are no superfluous intruders that needed apology or explanation; yet the French critic thinks it necessary to deprecate any intention of foisting such secondary characters upon his native boards.

"I am far from recommending the introduction of such means in our tragedies. The more the dramatists of any nation aspire to produce effect, the more should they be amenable to severe laws. Without these they would, to attain their end, but multiply the number of temptations to deviate from truth, nature, and good taste." "As often as the French poets have sought to import on our stage expedients borrowed from abroad, they have invariably been more prodigal of their use, more exaggerative and extravagant, than the foreign nations which they imitated.

"I think, therefore, that with reason we refuse to our writers the liberty which the Germans and English concede to theirs, of producing diversified effects by music, accidental meetings, multitude of actors, changes of scene, spectres, prodigies, and scaffolds. As it is easier to make effect by such resources than by situation, sentiment, and characters, there would be danger, if we suffered their admission, of our soon seeing on our boards nothing but scaffolds, combats, feasts, apparitions, and decorative changes."

We must allow a Frenchman to know the faults of his countrymen better than we do: nor may we contradict his testimony of German writers; and we leave others to reconcile its apparent inconsistency with such works as "Faust" and "Der Freyschütz."

"There is in the character of the Germans a fidelity, a candour, a scrupulousness, that confines their imagination within certain bounds. Their writers have a literary conscience, that makes historical accuracy and moral probability as necessary to them as public applause. They have a deep and earnest sensibility, that dotes upon the detail of natural feelings. So dear is this task to them, that they dwell infinitely more upon their own sensations than upon the effect they want to produce. In consequence, the external means which they employ, however multiplied, are still but accessaries. But in France, where we never lose sight of the public—in France, where we speak, write, act, only with a view of impressing others—accessaries, if admitted, might soon become principals. By interdicting such over-easy means of success to our poets, we force them to extract more from the resources left to them; and these are far superior—the display of cha acter, the jar of the passions, and, in a word, the development of the human heart."

After this digression, M. Constant reverts to the tragedy of Wallenstein, and gives his reasons, founded on national prejudices, for the suppression of whole scenes and passages. Those where the belief in prediction is brought into play are softened down to soothe the *esprits forts* of his nation; though he is latitudinarian enough to admit, that

"This species of effect is founded in the nature of the human heart, which, in all its emotions of fear, pity, or tenderness, is brought back by a mysterious spell to what we call superstition. This may appear puerile weakness, but I confess I am tempted to respect whatever has its source in our nature."

Some scenes he omits for no better reason than that they contain a mob:

"The scenes of the assassins of Banquo, in 'Macbeth,' are striking by their laconic energy. That of the murderers of Wallenstein has another kind of merit. The manner in which Schiller unfolds the motives presented to them, and graduates the effect of those motives: the struggle between attachment and cupidity, in those ferocious bosoms: the address with which their suborner metes out his arguments to their gross intellect—painting crime as a duty and gratitude as a crime: their eagerness to snatch at every thing that can excuse them to themselves, after their resolve to shed the blood of their general: the necessity which even these corrupted bosoms feel, to delude themselves and to cheat their conscience, by covering with a speciousness of justice the crime which they are about to perpetrate: lastly, the reasoning that decides them, and that decides so many others to commit actions which their internal sentiment condemns—that, in case of their refusal, other instruments will be found—all this is of

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great moral truth as well as dramatic beauty." "But, the language of these assassins was low!!! as well as their condition and feelings! [beneath the Alexandrine pomp!] To have given them elevated sentiments would have been to detract from the truth of character."

This is absolute squeamishness; especially, as Schiller's rogues are polished metaphysicians, who offend much more in the sublimity of their matter than the vulgarity of their manner. It is amusing enough to hear the French transposer's efforts to concoct all the substance of this scene into one long-winded recital, which, however, would not do; because it was a palpable absurdity to make one villain comment upon the vices of his accomplices to an auditor whom he was seeking to corrupt.

"This obligation, of putting into description what should be in action, is a dangerous shoal to the French tragic poets. Recitals are scarcely ever naturally placed: he who relates is not called, by his situation or interest, to relate what he does. Besides, they lead the poet to select details, so much less dramatical, as they are mere articulations."

He instances the superb description which Theramenes, in "The Phedra," gives to Theseus, of his son's fall.

"Racine, unable to produce Hyppolitus bleeding, mangled, and in the convulsions of death, as Euripides had done, was obliged to narrate his catastrophe; and this obligation has forced him to wound nature and probability, by a profusion of poetical details which a friend never could have enlarged upon, nor a father listened to."

We are glad to hear that French writers are aware of some of the "*inconvéniens*" of the unities.

"They circumscribe tragedies, the historical in particular, within a space that renders their composition very difficult. They oblige the poet to neglect, both in the incidents and characters, the truth of gradation, the delicacy of the shading. Racine has overcome this; but in Voltaire we perceive chasms and abrupt transitions. This is not Nature's way of working, we are sensible. She does not stride on so rapidly—she does not skip over the intermediate steps in this manner."

Now for the utility of these unities:

"Changes of place, how adroitly soever they be managed, oblige the spectator to account to himself for the mutation of scene, and thus train off a share of his attention from the main interest. After each scenic alteration he has to replace himself under the illusion from which he has been dragged. The same thing occurs, when he is reminded of the time elapsed from one act to another. In both cases the poet re-appears, as it were, in front of his personages; and there is a kind of tacit prologue or preface, which breaks the continuity of the impression."

Yet M. Constant never hinted any fear of the interest being suspended or interrupted by a chorus, the very presence of

whom must keep the mind on a continual stretch to account for their *whereabout*. The error appears to be in asking leave of the senses, to play upon the imagination and the passions. As if the understanding were the mighty Prospero, who raises the tempest, and commands the beguiling airs!—as if it were not led like a sleep-walker, its eyes all open, beneath the wand of imagination!—and as if the senses could bide unclosed, and note the passing time, while passion was rolling in thunders, and upheaving the continent of man, like an earthquake within him!

The French, who pay this homage to the intellect, before they dare to invoke the fancy or the heart, very grossly abuse that sovereign lord, if they think he is deceived by such shallow plausibilities as the unities. No understanding ever yet admitted the coincidences, or successions in a given time, at one place, which *they* include in one act. The artifice, by which one person is hurried on and another off, that not a moment may be lost, is more palpable and more destructive of illusion, than any change of scene could be: and as for the "continuity of interest," it is, in reality, as much broken by removal of the person who excites it, as by removal of the scene. When *he* is gone, the mind goes off the stage with him, or only reverts thither, to ask itself, who comes next—a question that too frequently obtrudes itself in Racine's best plays; but there is no such thing any where as a continuous impression. There is only a succession of impulses that make the bosom vibrate, in proportion to their energy and number; and it no more destroys that succession to originate the next impulse from a new place than from a new comer. The true delusion is to dim the senses through the passions—to efface all recollections, but that of one absorbing emotion—to "annihilate both time and space," rather than protrude them on our attention by the very care that is betrayed in reconciling appearances.

Another point of contrast, in which the French and German theatres are put, is novel and striking:

"The French, even in their tragedies founded upon history or tradition, paint only an event or a passion. The Germans paint an entire life or character.

"I do not mean to say, that they embrace the whole period of the life of their hero; but they omit no extraordinary event in it; and the union of that which is transacted on the stage, with that which is told in recitals or allusions, forms a complete picture of scrupulous exactness.

"It is the same with character. The Germans leave out of that of their personages nothing that constitutes their individuality. They present them to us, with all their weaknesses, inconsistencies, and that fluctuating unsteadiness, which belongs to human nature, and forms real existences.

"The French have a *besoin d'unité* (?) that makes them pursue a

different course. They expunge from their characters all that is not fit to set off the passion, which they design to paint. They suppress every part of the antecedent life of their hero, not linked to the fact which they have chosen."

The most remarkable instance produced is Racine's "Orestes," where the love of that prince for Hermione is all that gives life to his character. He appears to have forgotten the murder of his mother, and is occupied only with his passion for Hermione. "The remembrance of his crime was irreconcilable with such a love as he is made to feel. A son, stained with his mother's blood, and forgetful of all but his mistress, would have produced a revolting effect." Racine, therefore, suppressed all allusion to the parricide in his "Andromaque."

"This isolated position of the fact and of the passion has its incontestable advantages. In disengaging the fact, selected from all anterior facts, the interest is more closely directed upon a solitary object. The hero is more fully in the possession of the poet, who has rid himself of past occurrences. It is true, there may be a colouring somewhat less real in his picture, because art can never perfectly supply the place of truth; and because the spectator, even when ignorant of the liberty taken by the poet, is apprized by some indefinable instinct, that the being presented to him is not a historical personage, but a fictitious hero, the mere creature of invention."

We leave it to the reader to determine, whether the *pros* or the *cons* have it in the above, as well as the following:

"In portraying a passion only, instead of embracing an entire character, we obtain effects more constantly tragic; because, individual characters, being always of a mixed quality, injure the unity (again!) of the impression. But truth is probably somewhat sacrificed in our system. The question continually arises, 'What would these heroes be, if they were not governed by the passion that actuates them?' And the answer is, that there would remain but little reality in their whole existence."

One of the *génes* to which their system reduces them is,

"The less variety that there is in the passions fit for the stage, than in the characters of individuals, such as Nature creates them. Characters are innumerable: theatrical passions very few in number.

"Without doubt, the admirable genius of Racine, which triumphs over every difficulty, throws a diversity even into this uniformity. The jealousy of Phedra is not that of Hermione, nor the love of Hermione that of Roxana; but the distinction appears to me to consist rather in the passion itself, than in the character of the individual.

"The character of Polyphontes suits almost every tyrant; while that of Shakspeare's 'Richard the Third' suits only Richard the Third."

And he traces very distinctly the traits that individualize this character, as if he were unawed by the spirit of our own "great leviathan of literature," who laid it down so authoritatively, that the characters of Shakspeare were not individuals, but species.

M. Constant meant to have copied the Germans, in his portraiture of Wallenstein, and to have made him, as he was in life, "ambitious, but, at the same time, thoughtful, superstitious, and infirm of purpose [so far a living Macbeth]; jealous of the success of strangers in his native land, even when that success favoured his designs; and often going counter to his object, by yielding himself to the guidance of his disposition." How he has mutilated this fine conception, with such a model before him, is unaccountable; but no one, who reads his "Wallstein," can picture to himself the aspiring usurper, to whom "fate and metaphysical aid" seemed to present "the golden round;" who was "subject to all the skyey influences," full of remorse before the deed, and "preternatural solicitings;" in whose ambition were ingulfed the affections of the man; and in whom "the laws of spirit" had extinguished all notions of right or wrong; who lived through faith, the irresponsible agent of destiny, and died meekly, a martyr to that faith.

It would seem that such a superstitious ground-work would be ridiculous in the eyes of a sceptical people. Dramatic characters thus become untransferable from one language to another, on account of differences of national character. M. Constant has almost obliterated all trace of the character of Thekla, the daughter of Wallenstein, though deeply sensible of its beauty. We the more readily give his sketch of this character, such as it is drawn in Schiller, because it has not been dwelt upon in any of the reviews of "Wallenstein" that we have seen. It includes the reasons for its rejection on the French boards.

"Thekla excites a universal enthusiasm in Germany. The admiration which she begets, arises from their way of considering love. The French regard it as a passion, that leads our reason astray, whose sole aim is to obtain pleasure. The Germans look upon love as something religious—an emanation of the Deity—a fulfilment of destiny—a mysterious link, as it were, between God and man. When viewed as a passion, it can only interest by its violence and delirium; but when felt as a ray of the divine effulgence, that comes to warm at once and purify the heart, it is both calmer and stronger; it presides over every thing around it; it may have to combat circumstances, but not duties, for it is itself the first of duties, and lords it over all the rest. It cannot descend to crime nor to deceit, without belying its nature; it cannot yield to obstacles; nor yet put itself out by an act of the will.

"Thekla is a being raised above our common nature. She is calm, because her determination is irrevocable; confiding, because her attachment is all solemn; undisguised, because her love is not a part, but the whole of her existence. She is an aërial spirit, that hovers over this crowd of ambitious fiends, traitors, and ruthless warriors, whom strong positive interests excite against each other. We feel that this is not her sphere; that she is destined back again to the heavens,

whence she came. Her voice, so soft; her form, so delicate; the purity of her soul, opposed to their greedy calculations; her angelic calmness, contrasted with their fiend-like agitation, fill us with an unceasing, melancholy emotion, such as no modern tragedy has produced. She is not a heroine, whom passion makes strong, or sensibility weak, to win or to yield up her love. Other heroines struggle with their passion, or are subdued by external importunity; *they* can make sacrifices of themselves. Not so Thekla: she loves, and waits, unchangeable. Her lot is fixed; she can have no other; nor can she advance it by contending with the world. Her strength is all internal. She requires no disguise; she reveals her love in all its depth, singleness, and purity; she speaks of it unreservedly even to her lover: 'Where shouldst thou find truth upon the earth, if thou wert not to hear it from my lips?' is her touching language to him."

This is, to the life, one of Shakspeare's heroines—another Imogen. "A pure abstraction of the affections," existing only in her attachment to another; and that attachment outliving hope, and foregoing form, propriety, with every thing dear to a woman's nature, but the essence of it.

"In France this *exaltation*, without wandering or delirium, never could be tolerated in a young girl. It could not serve as a basis to a *general system*, and nothing is liked in France, but what admits of general application. The moral of a play is founded upon feeling in Germany; upon reason, in France. A sincere, strong, and unrestrained emotion appears, to them, to ennoble and sanctify what it inspires. But with us, the feeling that leads to a breach of duty is an aggravation of the sin. We pardon it much more reluctantly than a fault proceeding from self-interest, on account of the address and respect for appearances of this last. The former braves opinion; the latter temporizes with it, and this is a species of deference, not distasteful to the world."

The notes of M. Benjamin Constant de Rebecque contain a body of historical information, that tends very much to illustrate the "Wallenstein" of Schiller; and to explain the reason why tragedies apparently so defective in their structure are witnessed with such intense satisfaction in Germany.

"All that relates to the thirty-years' war is national with the Germans, and as such is known by every body. The names that occur awake recollections that have no existence in us. Hence, Schiller had at command a number of allusions, which his countrymen caught at once, but which no one in France would comprehend.

"There is," he proceeds, "among *us*, a certain neglect of foreign history that proves a bar to the composition of historical dramas, such as are found in neighbouring literatures. The tragedies which succeed best in France are either those of pure fiction, which require but few preliminary notions, or those drawn from Grecian mythology and Roman history, which form part of our early education."

Though we will not charge our countrymen with the neglect which the French author so freely admits against his own; yet, as far as our knowledge of German affairs is contrasted with that of the well-read Germans, we must allow there is such a deficiency, as must render abortive to us many of the allusions of their historical poets: especially as German writers, calculating upon the spread of literature and spirit of close research among their countrymen, study to wrap up a world of meaning in short sentences, that cannot but be obscure to those who have not in mind the epoch and events to which the allusion refers. We conceive, therefore, that we shall be doing no disservice, if we refresh the memory of our readers by compressing and transposing into connected narrative, the notes, which M. Constant thought indispensable to the elucidation of "Wallenstein." He borrowed them from a number of authorities*, known only to the learned in this country; and, as we have had occasion to go over the same ground in a measure, in order to fill up his gaps, it strikes us that our article, though entirely new-cast, is strictly retrospective in its character—calculated to revive faded or antiquated literature; and only not a gloss or copy of an original text, because that text is a collection of isolated portions of history and biography, that illustrate particular passages of a work, without regard to order or tautology.

Our readers will find our sketch of the Life of Wallenstein in our next number.

The Parliamentary Writs, and Writs of Military Summons, together with the Records and Muniments relating to the Suit and Service due and performed to the King's High Court of Parliament and the Councils of the Realm, or affording Evidence of Attendance given at Parliaments and Councils. Collected and edited by Francis Palgrave, Esq., F. R. S. and F. S. A., of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. Volume the first, 1827. *Folio, pp.* xcvi. *and* 982—1078.

Ducatus Lancastriæ Pars Tertia.—Calendar to Pleadings, Depositions, &c. in the Reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Philip and Mary; and to the Pleadings of the first thirteen Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Folio, 1827, *pp.* 509.

Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth. To which are prefixed Examples of earlier Proceedings in that Court, namely, from the Reign of Richard the

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* Herschenhahn, Khevenhiller, Schiller, &c.

Second to that of Queen Elizabeth, inclusive, from the Originals in the Tower. Vol. I. Folio, 1827, *pp.* 565.

THE Record Commission, to which we are indebted for these valuable additions to historical, antiquarian, and biographical literature, has existed nearly thirty years, during which period about fifty folio volumes, each tending to the illustration of some or all of these subjects, have been given to the public. Although the former works which have issued from the Commission vary as much in their general interest as in the manner in which they are executed; though it may be doubted whether the most essential documents have always been selected, or whether the private wishes of certain individuals have not had an improper influence, we cheerfully bear testimony to the highly important benefits which have been conferred upon historical researches. It is gratifying to find that the energy of the Commission has rather increased than lessened; that the most recent of its publications are the most worthy of commendation; and that they form an honourable contrast to the jobbing, unsatisfactory, and disgraceful manner in which some of the earlier volumes, the books misnamed a "Calendar to the Patent Rolls," and Calendars to the "Inquisitiones Post Mortem," for example, have been edited.

We regret much that we are prevented on the present occasion from inquiring how the Record Commission has performed its duties; the way in which it is conducted; and the objects which it has accomplished, and still purposes to attain. This, however, will probably be the subject of a future article; and we shall now only notice such of its publications as have appeared in the present year, commencing with those which relate to the earliest period, rather than attending to the order in which they were published. "The Parliamentary Writs" consist,

First, Of a chronological abstract of all the instruments contained in the volume; and which, being very wisely written in English, forms a kind of analysis of each record, adapted to the most general reader.

Secondly, A calendar of the writs of election, and returns thereof.

Thirdly, Writs, records, and muniments relating to the suit and service due and performed to the king's high court of parliament and the other councils of the realm, or affording evidence of attendance given at parliaments and councils during the reign of Edward the First.

Fourthly, Writs, records, and muniments relating to the military services due to the crown, whether by reason of tenure or of allegiance, during the reign of Edward the First.

To these succeed the appendix, alphabetical digest, introduction thereto, digest, and index.

We learn from the resolution of the Commissioners on the 27th of April, 1822, that it was resolved to reprint the rolls of parliament, pleas in parliament, and petitions; to print records of inquisitions and proceedings in courts of inferior jurisdiction which originated in parliament; writs issued by the authority of the great council or parliament; writs of summons and of election, and returns of the commons to the conclusion of the period embraced by the rolls; and writs of wages, prorogation, &c. Pursuant to this resolution, it was farther resolved, at a board held above three years afterwards, namely, on the 1st of July, 1825, "that Mr. Palgrave's specimen of the edition of 'Parliamentary Writs' being approved of, he is desired to proceed with the printing accordingly." Thus, in little more than two years that gentleman has produced the volume before us, which is perhaps one of the most extraordinary examples of laborious and painful research that has ever appeared: but before speaking of its contents we shall say a few words on the "resolutions" which we have quoted. It seems that the Record Commission purpose publishing every document that elucidates the early parliamentary history of the kingdom; and it is impossible to applaud that intention more highly than it deserves. Not only is the subject of the utmost importance in itself, but every other department of antiquarian literature, biography, and the history of this country, as well as of Scotland, and of France, Spain, and other continental nations, will be considerably illustrated, since the proceedings of parliament embraced objects connected with public affairs as well as those of a private or personal nature. As a body of evidence on history, manners, customs, individual character and conduct, property, and, in a word, on every thing relating to society, from about the middle of the thirteenth to the close of the fifteenth century, the rolls of parliament are of unequalled value. When we reflect on the tardiness which until lately has characterized this Commission, we confess our fears that it will be our grand-children rather than ourselves who will benefit by its proposed labours: but we entreat it not to relax in its efforts; and to apply, if necessary, to parliament for increased revenues, rather than that posterity only may benefit by the accomplishment of its plans. Mr. Palgrave has displayed unusual zeal in producing such a volume in so short a period, and from that fact we augur more favourably of the future; especially since we hope it is settled that the printing of the greater part of those records is to be intrusted to his superintendence.

The preface to the "Parliamentary Writs" abounds in so much valuable information relative to the manner in which peers and others were summoned to parliament, or to perform military service; and consequently adds so materially to our knowledge of

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the early legislative assemblies of the realm, and at the same time so satisfactorily explains the contents of the volume, that we shall extract the greater part of it.

" The collection, of which this is the first volume, includes all the records which show the constituent parts of the ancient legislative and remedial assemblies of England, beginning with the reign of Edward I., the period when they first assumed a definite organization. Before this era, neither the principles nor the practice of the constitution can be ascertained with certainty; but, under the government of Edward, a settled and uniform usage may be discerned, from whence the parliament received an organization nearly approaching to the form in which it now subsists. Considerable obscurity prevails with respect to the rights and functions of the individuals who enjoyed the privilege or were subjected to the duty of attendance. The fact, however, of such attendance is evinced by documents existing in a series which, although not entirely unbroken, is sufficiently complete to afford a satisfactory view of the estates, orders, and members who composed the great councils of the realm. These documents may be arranged under the following sections:

" I. Writs of summons addressed to the prelates, the earls, and to the individuals generally, but not invariably, designated as ' barones,' ' proceres,' or ' magnates;' and also to the justices, clerks, and others of the council. In most instances the writs are extant on the dorses of the close-roll, upon which, each set of writs appears to have been entered or enrolled from a pannel or schedule (such as is now termed a parliamentary pawn) which remained on the file*. Two only of these pannels have been found; the one belonging to the reign of Henry III., and the other to the reign of Edward II. Occasionally the clerks of the chancery contented themselves with tacking the pannel to the roll (the breviate of the writs issued for the council of the 16 Edw. I. may be quoted as an exemplification of this practice, p. 18, No. I.). Most of the riders or schedules now attached to the rolls appear to be pannels of this description; and, had it not been for the precaution of annexing them to the larger record, the information which they convey would have been lost. All documents which bore a direct relation to the rights of property, or to judicial proceedings, were recorded in the chancery with considerable care, but much less attention was paid to those which referred only to current transactions; and it is probable that the neglect of the clerks of the chancery in omitting to enrol the pannels is the principal cause of the paucity of parliamentary writs of summons in the earlier periods. Of original writs of summons, fifteen belonging to 34 Edw. I. (pp. 165, 166, Nos. 4 to 20.) were found in the bundle which contains the writs of election of that year.

" II. Proxies of the prelates, earls, and ' proceres.'—It is stated by Selden and Hody, that proxy-rolls were formerly extant in the Tower. The editor has been informed that none can now be found;

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* They are now kept in the Petty Bag Office.

and, as it appears from these writers that the records were much decayed, it is to be apprehended that they have since perished. About fifty original proxies, principally of the reign of Edward II., have been preserved amongst the parliamentary petitions, and they will appear in their proper order.

" III. Precepts and mandates issued by the metropolitan and diocesan prelates, pursuant to the præmunientes clause in the writs of summons, requiring the attendance of the inferior clergy; and procurations executed by the capitular and parochial clergy, pursuant to such precepts and mandates. Some of these documents have been obtained from the monastic Lieger Books in the Museum and elsewhere: the best information, however, is derived from episcopal and capitular registers; and his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, and the honourable and very reverend the dean of Canterbury, having permitted the editor to examine the archives both of Lambeth Palace and of the cathedral, the series of precepts and procurations, so far as relates to the see of Canterbury, has been completed.

" IV. Writs for the election of the members of the commons house of parliament, and returns.—The enrolments of these writs, which usually accompany the enrolments of the writs of summons, require no peculiar remark. The original writs and returns, the most important and valuable portion of the present work, were first assorted by Prynne, who, in the dedication of the " Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva," addressed to Charles II., has described his proceedings with his characteristic quaintness and verbosity."

But we have no room for Mr. Prynne's garrulity. It is essential antiquaries should know, that

" Notwithstanding the pains which that most laborious antiquary has bestowed on his work, it is by no means remarkable for accuracy. He has fallen into many important errors in his readings of the names; and some entire sets of writs are referred to years to which they do not belong. Prynne was followed by Browne Willis, who, in his " Notitia Parliamentaria," intended to have given complete lists of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, which he has arranged according to counties; but only three volumes of the work were published by the author.

" V. Writs for levying the expenses of the knights, citizens, and burgesses.—These are enrolled upon the close-rolls in the same manner as the other writs. They are also made out from schedules and pannels (p. 156, No. 50.), and they are also issued upon dockets or warrants under the privy seal (p. 156, No. 48.). These circumstances may account for the non-appearance on the rolls of the writs de expensis, during the earlier periods, when such detached documents were not always recorded by the clerks.

" VI. Writs of military summons specially addressed to individuals usually considered as the greater or lesser barons of the realm.—These are enrolled on the close-rolls.

" VII. Writs for the performance of military service, or relating thereto, addressed to the sheriff of the county.—These writs were returned in a manner nearly analogous to the parliamentary writs,

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the sheriff stating in his return the names of the individuals whom he had summoned or distrained to perform military service, or to take the degree of knighthood. Two only of such original returns have been seen by the editor in the Tower; but transcripts of many more have been preserved amongst the Cottonian and Harleian MSS., and they are extremely curious and valuable, inasmuch as they furnish the names of those individuals who seem to correspond with the 'Minores Barones' of the Magna Charta of King John. There are also returns of an analogous nature made by inquisitions; two such inquisitions are extant amongst the Harleian Charters (v. p. 267, No. 425.), which were certainly obtained from the Tower.

"VIII. Commissions of array, and other instruments relating to the military levies.—It being frequently difficult to distinguish between the service due by reason of tenure, and the service which was performed under the general obligation of allegiance, it has been judged expedient to unite the principal documents explaining the ancient military policy of the realm.

"IX. Records affording evidence of the names of the individuals who actually attended or deliberated in parliaments or councils.—The judgments and resolutions of parliament, &c. are usually expressed in general terms. In some instances, however, the individuals who attended or concurred in legislative, political, or judicial proceedings, are specifically named.

"X. Records affording evidence of the actual performance of military service.—The rolls of marshalsey are the most important of this class. Upon this roll the service was recorded; and if a question arose respecting the due performance thereof, the entry on the roll was pleaded in discharge of the claim of the crown. Such a roll was made up on every muster of the king's host; but very few have escaped the general wreck.

"The documents comprehended under the foregoing ten sections constitute the body of the collection; those considered as forming the appendixes are of a more miscellaneous description; such documents having been selected as explain particular facts and proceedings, or which tend to elucidate the main points of inquiry within the purview of the collection: the latter may be thus enumerated:

"1. Records showing the rank and condition of individuals composing the parliament.—These are chiefly the commissions by which the royal authority was delegated for the conservancy of the peace, the execution of statutes, &c.; and it is important to remark how very generally the members of parliament were selected for the discharge of such duties.

"2. Records relating to elections of coroners, verdurers, &c. which took place in the county court; and other documents showing the constitution of that assembly, and elucidating the history of the elective franchise*.

"3. Records relating to the customs and constitutions of boroughs*.—Some few custumals and other documents of this description have

* These documents will appear in a future volume.

been obtained; and it is hoped that the collection may be enlarged when the officers, having the custody of corporate archives, are aware how much historical information may be concealed without in the slightest degree compromising the rights and privileges of their corporations.

"In order to render the work more accessible to the reader, it has been accompanied by a chronological abstract of the documents, with historical notes; a calendar of the writs of election and the returns thereof; and an alphabetical digest of the facts relating to persons. In consequence of the great bulk of this volume, the digests of places and of principal matters have not been appended hereto, but will be given on a future occasion."

In the chronological abstract, the editor has very properly introduced such extracts from contemporary historians, or other sources, as illustrate the subject. Many of those notes contain original information of great value, particularly in the correction of the dates of instruments. In his observations, however, he appears to shrink with horror from citing any existing writer, excepting the author of "The Lords' Reports," for which his veneration seems to be of the highest nature, though we could fill several sheets with the gross blunders that are to be found in them: but it is an official document, and as such it becomes, we presume, a sacred object in the eyes of a sub-commissioner. Some people may, however, be sufficiently "unofficial" in their opinions as to consider that it was rather the editor's duty to have cited such works, whether they emanated from authority or from private persons, as contained the most ample illustration of the respective records. Were it not for reasons which we cannot explain, we would point out one instance in which he has omitted to allude to an elaborate article written exclusively to prove the authenticity of the document to which he has appended a note; and which article we are prepared to show was the sole cause of the appearance of those "valuable remarks" in the "Fourth Peerage Report," to which he refers. Of this fact Mr. Palgrave was not ignorant; and we could specify other places where similar, though somewhat less flagrant, disregard of the exertions of his fellow-labourers in the historical vineyard are to be found.

The editor has so ably described the nature of the records in those parts of his preface which we have extracted, that it is not necessary for us to do so. The Alphabetical Digest commences at page 410, prefixed to which is a copy of the roll of the name and arms of the bannerets of England, compiled in the early part of the reign of Edward the Second; and now printed from a contemporary MS. in the British Museum*. In the introduction

* A copy of this valuable heraldic MS. has been for some time in the press, and will be published in a small octavo for a few shillings.

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to the Digest are the following useful observations respecting names:

"Surnames originally derived from places, and ascribed to the family of the parties, were occasionally dropped for others derived from residence; or, in other words, the surname was merged in the local description. With respect to the 'by-names' of persons belonging to the inferior classes, they are subjected to very perplexing changes. The clerks by whom the records were written either translated them into Latin or French, or retained them in the vernacular dialect, at their pleasure, and without being guided by any fixed rule. Thus, the 'Thomas de la Guttere' of one year appears as 'Thomas atte Shete' in the next return. Personal descriptions, for they can scarcely be called surnames, derived from trades, offices, or occupations, were shifted and exchanged for local descriptions, with an equal disregard of any regular system. To these sources of confusion must be added the obscurities arising from the fluctuating and unsettled orthography, and, in very many instances, from the difficulty of discovering the true reading of the record. Some letters, such as *t* and *c*, *n* and *u*, are written precisely in the same manner; *f* and *ſ*, *h*, *l*, and *b*, *A* and *D*, *E* and *R*, &c. are nearly alike; and the casual obliteration of a hair-stroke will destroy the distinguishing feature. The dot of the *i* is generally omitted; and in the combinations of the letters formed by parallel strokes, such as *m*, *n*, *u*, *i*, the eye is unable to develop the elements of which the group is composed. In familiar and well-known names the true reading is obtained by the previous knowledge of the word; but by far the most numerous names belong to families long since extinct, or to persons of obscure and unknown lineage. Thus, a name, which may be either *Hauvil* or *Hanvil*, has also been read as *Haunil*, *Hannil*, and *Hamul*; *Gouiz* as *Goniz*; *Haudlo* as *Handlo*; and it is probable that the name of the baronial family of *Novant* ought to be read *Nonant*, though in the present work, the first orthography has been adopted, on the authority of Dugdale and his successors. Occasionally, the employment of a letter of equivalent sound affords a satisfactory solution. Thus, the name *Gouiz*, being sometimes, though rarely, spelled *Gowiz*, the true sound is ascertained."

As a practicable index, it is impossible to praise Mr. Palgrave's "Digest" too highly. No one but those who have undergone the wearying and disgusting labour of compiling such an extensive index can adequately estimate the time and patience necessary for the task: nor was it a mere work of scissors and paste, as it requires a perfect knowledge of the contents of every document. It is no trifling merit in the publications of the Record Commission, that each contains extensive indexes; but neither of them approaches in utility the "Digest" under our

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It affords the most and perhaps the only satisfactory evidence of the arms of the knights in this country at the commencement of the fourteenth century, which is extant.

notice. Instead of mere names, which, when referred to in the body of the work, we find were only recorded on an occasion not at all connected with the object of the search, Mr. Palgrave's arrangement states at once what is said of them, the year and day on which each document was dated, and the part of the page where it occurs. The subjoined are sufficient specimens of his plan; and of the facts which the writs contain:

Page. No.

"1297. CROFTE, JOHN DE, (*Johannes de Crofte,*) returned from the County of *Hereford* as holding lands or rents to the amount of 20*l.* yearly value and upwards, either in Capite or otherwise, and as such summoned under the general writ to perform Military Service in person with horses and arms, &c. in parts beyond the seas.—Muster at London, on Sunday next, after the Octaves of St. John the Baptist, 7th July, 25 Edw. I. 286 15

"1305. CROFT, JOHN DE, (*Johannes de Croft,*) Manucaptor of *Johannes de Pabenham*, Knight of the Shire, returned for *Bedford* . . . 33 Edw. I. 141 12

"1301. CROFT, PETER DE, summoned from the Counties of *Cambridge* and *Huntingdon* to perform Military Service in person against the Scots.—Muster at Berwick-upon-Tweed, on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 24th June . . . . . 29 Edw. I. 354 6

When the same person is mentioned in two or more places, the name is repeated in italics, thus:

Page. No.

"ERCEDEKNE, JOHN LE, (*Johannes le Ercedekne.*)

"1302. *Ercedekne, Johannes le,* one of the "Fideles" of *Ireland.*—Letter of credence addressed to him concerning the services required for the war in Scotland.—Tested at Morpeth, 23 February . 30 Edw. I. 363 11

"*Ercedekne, Johannes le,* one of the "Fideles" of *Ireland.*—Letter of credence addressed to him concerning the affairs of Scotland.—Dated at Westminster, 5th Aug. . . . . 30 Edw. I. 365 16

We have been thus particular in giving examples of the "Digest" for two reasons: the one because we were desirous of making our readers acquainted with it; and the other because it affords a specimen of how such references ought to be formed. To the volume the usual kind of alphabetical index of names is added, which is useful, because, from the variations in the spelling, it is impossible to introduce the name in every place where a strict adherence to the orthography would require it. In pointing out the faults in the indexes to the other pub-

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lications of the Record Commission, we shall, we hope, both induce those who compile them to benefit by our remarks; and explain the propriety of Mr. Palgrave's giving an alphabetical index nominum as well as an alphabetical digest. Let us suppose the name sought to be "Deincourt." It would require an accurate knowledge of the plan of an index to induce a person to turn to "Ayncourt," "Deincourt," "Deyncourt," and "Deyngcourt;" or if it be "Greystock," the uninitiated would fancy they had exhausted the references when they had consulted all those under that word, and would be as much disappointed as surprised on learning that they had omitted the most important, which were under "Craystock," "Graystock," or "Creystock." In many cases the same person is referred to in several places, because the letters in his name were repeated in some records, or because the vowels were changed. Mr. Palgrave refers in his general index to the same name, under every form in which it is written, whilst in his "Digest" he has introduced all notices of persons under the name by which they are most commonly known. The fault in the other indexes alluded to is, not that names occur in several places according to the various modes of spelling them, but that references are not given to these variations, or that they are not likewise all inserted under the name, spelt in the most usual manner. For example, either by placing every reference to Deincourt, whether spelt Dyncourt, Deincourt, Deyngcourt, Diencourt, &c. under "Deincourt," or by referring to each of the various modes in which it is to be found.

We cannot conclude this subject without alluding to the numerous times great part of the contents of the volume before us has been printed at the charge of the public; and consequently of the waste of money which ought to be most judiciously expended, so as to accomplish all that remains to be done. Nothing can be farther from our thoughts than to wish to cramp the powers of the Record Commission by pecuniary considerations: on the contrary, the object is one of such national importance, that if more funds be wanted, we should strongly recommend an application for increased resources, which there can be little doubt would be cheerfully granted, even by those who most vigilantly watch the public expenditure. But it is little short of a profligate waste of money to print the same documents two, three, or, in one case, even five times *, simply

* The Letter from the Barons to Pope Boniface VIII., in February, 1301, relative to his Claim to the Kingdom of Scotland. It was printed, though most inaccurately, in the new edition of the "Fœdera" in 1818; again in the Appendix to the First and Second Peerage

because they have been wanted by different departments, or because they were in the first instance so disgracefully edited as to be useless. The collection of the parliamentary writs before us is the only place in which those records should have appeared; and we sincerely hope that the series of parliamentary documents which the Commission have so wisely resolved to publish may be completed; but we wholly disapprove of an editor's fixing upon any period as that with which they should commence. We object in the strongest manner to any public officer, acting under a Royal Commission, being allowed, in a work of this nature, to fix upon any particular era as that when "the legislative and remedial assemblies of England first assumed a definite organization," or to assert dogmatically, that before the commencement of the reign of Edward the First, "neither the principles nor the practice of the constitution can be ascertained," and to confine all means of inquiry to the time when *he* deems that the parliamentary records become important. It may be his opinion, and one which, in a private work, he would be fully justified in expressing or acting upon, that it is in vain to inquire into the constitution of the legislative assemblies of this country before the time he has named; but we deny the right of any public officer, and even of the Commission itself, to act upon so uncertain an hypothesis. It is its province to publish records which throw light upon our early history; and not, by adopting any theory, prevent the world from obtaining information, which it was the express object of the Commission to afford.

Reports in 1820; again from both copies to the Appendix to the Fourth Peerage Report in 1825; and now among the Parliamentary Writs in August, 1827!

We are aware that the Record Commission and the Lords' Committees have nothing to do with each other; and that whatever may be printed by the latter is supposed to be only for the use of the members of the House of Lords, and is paid for out of the grants for the session. Still, as the funds for that purpose are also derived from the public purse, it may be supposed, without compromising their lordship's dignity, that the labours of the Record Commission, by a little foresight, could have been rendered available for the purposes of the House. The Appendix to the Reports of the Lords' Committees, which contains the parliamentary and other writs from the 6th John to the 20th Edward II., was ordered to be printed on the 25th of May, 1820, but it did not appear, we believe, until after the resolution of the Record Commission to print all parliamentary instruments, in April 1822; whilst the second part, which consists of similar documents from the 1st Edward III. to the end of the reign of Edward IV., was not printed until about two years since.

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Whether Mr. Palgrave be right or wrong in his opinion, that until the reign of Edward the First, " neither the principles nor the practice of the constitution can be ascertained," is not the object of our present inquiry. We merely protest against any individual having the power to withhold records in such a collection, which might induce others to draw a very different conclusion; and we fearlessly assert, that it was the obvious duty of the Record Commission not to have listened to the theory of any man, or body of men, on so highly important a subject; but to have printed every document which exists, connected with the legislative assemblies of the realm before the reign of Edward the First, as well as those subsequent to that epoch.

A very large proportion of the parliamentary writs, as well as of those for military service, which are inserted in this volume, were printed in the new edition of the " Fœdera " in 1816 and 1821; and a still greater number of them were again printed in the " Appendix, No. 1, to the Report on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, pursuant to an Order of the Lords' Committee of the 25th of May, 1820." The present volume consequently contains every writ printed by the lords' committees relating to the reign of Edward the First; and the plan of Mr. Palgrave's labours will necessarily require that, with the exception of a dozen instruments, every line printed by order of their lordships in the Appendix to their Reports, and which consists of two folio volumes, containing altogether above one thousand closely printed pages, must be again republished at the expense of the nation.

At a time when so much remains to be done for the publication and better preservation of the muniments of the kingdom, and when the funds at the disposal of the Record Commission are said to be inadequate to the purpose for which they were destined, it does seem monstrous that so little care should have been taken to prevent such a waste of the public money. Their lordships have wisely printed several writs from the time of John, which we presume are the earliest that are preserved; but we repeat, that as it was deemed expedient to form a complete series of these documents from the accession of Edward the First, even with the certainty of reprinting one thousand folio pages, those before that era, as well as every other instrument connected with the subject, should also have been included. Without them the object which can alone justify the reprinting of the others is not attained, for they are not a perfect collection.

It is yet possible to supply this extraordinary and culpable omission, by considering the present the second volume instead of the first; and which we believe will only require that the title-page and preface should be cancelled.

As we are most anxious not to be misunderstood in our

remarks on the publication of parliamentary documents, to avoid the possibility of mistake, we will briefly state the purport of them. Nothing can be more proper than that a *perfect* series of the parliamentary records of the kingdom should be printed; nor could a more qualified person be chosen than Mr. Palgrave; or a better plan than his have been devised; hence we earnestly hope that every possible facility will be afforded him in completing the laborious task he has undertaken. But on the other hand, the public expect that the utmost attention will be paid to the manner in which the documents are printed; that as much information as possible, without swelling the work to an inordinate extent, may be abstracted; that neither the theory nor the interests of individuals may be allowed to prevent the insertion of records of any particular period or subject, more especially in relation to the constitutional history of the country; that great caution be used when it is proposed to print either the calendars to particular records, or the records themselves, that a proper plan be first formed; and that in no case such an absurdity be again committed as the printing twice or thrice within a few years, documents which should be printed once and no more; but which, when published, ought to appear in the most luminous, accurate, and satisfactory manner.

The volume relating to the Duchy of Lancaster consists, we are told in the few lines prefixed to it, of "A Supplemental Calendar to the Pleadings, Depositions, &c. temp. Henry VII. in continuation of the volume previously published, and including several Records which had been heretofore considered as lost; but have been recently discovered in the Duchy Office; a Calendar to the Pleadings, Depositions, &c. in the reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI. and Philip and Mary; and a Calendar to the Pleadings, &c. in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as far as the thirteenth year of her reign inclusive; with copious Indexes of Places and Persons in the respective Calendars. The Calendar to the remaining part of the Pleadings, &c. temp. Eliz. will be continued in a succeeding volume." These pleadings consist of bills, answers, and depositions of surveys in suits exhibited in the Duchy Court. The Calendars are arranged in alphabetical order according to the name of the plaintiffs; and the following examples will show the information which they contain:

No.	Reign.	Plaintiffs.	Defendants.	Premises and Matters in Dispute.	Places.	Counties.
2	1 and 2 Ph. and Mar.	Richard Halsall, Clerk, Parson of the Patish Church of Halsall.	Roger Charnocke and John Norbery, Lessees of the King's and Queen's Majesties under the Duchy Seal.	Disputed title to a messuage, lands, and appurtances, with interrogatories and depositions of the certificates of the commissioners for taking conduct thereon, stating that no witness or other proof was brought before them on behalf of the defendants; and therewith the depositions on the behalf of the plaintiff, shewing that the incumbent of Halsall and his predecessors were seised of or entitled to the premises in dispute.	Mellynge chapel, Halsall church, Maghull Conscoughe.	Lancashire.
2	1 and 2 Ph. and Mar.	James Partington, and Ralph Partington, executors of the last will and testament of William Partyngton, deceased.	Sir Bryan Brereton, knt. and Dame Alice his wife, and Sir Robert Langley, knt, executors of the last will and testament of Sir William Leylonde, knt. deceased.	Disputed claim on the executors of the deceased Sir William Leylonde, for a debt due in his life-time for money received by him to be paid on an indenture of settlement upon the marriage solemnized between Roger Walmysley and Eliza Partyngton, daughter to the said William Partyngton, with interrogatories and depositions thereon.	Manchester.	Lancashire.

The compiler of the index to the volume has done much to render it more satisfactory, by introducing "the distinctive appellations of persons as occupiers or officers, &c.;" and which he truly says, "will facilitate searches by immediate reference as well to persons as places."

It is obvious that this and the former volumes, relating to the proceedings in the Court and Duchy of Lancaster, contain much information of considerable value to those interested in that county, and occasionally also of a more general nature; but it is questionable whether the publication of these calendars should not have been postponed until records of a more important description had been printed. Few people, comparatively speaking, have occasion to consult the muniments of that duchy,

whilst scarcely an historical research can be made without requiring a reference to the Patent rolls, and Fine rolls, &c. and still more frequently to the rolls of parliament. To the present edition of the latter, an index is now printing, and which ought long since to have been completed; but however valuable that index may be, and we are fully impressed with its utility, we presume that both it and the printed rolls themselves will be wholly superseded by the publication of the parliamentary documents ordered to be printed by the resolution of the Record Commission on the 22d April, 1822; and thus another memorable instance will occur of time, labour, and expense being thrown away. Preparations are, we understand, making for a third specimen of this profligate expenditure by the publication of a new Calendar to, or we hope rather abstracts of, the Patent Rolls. We fully admit the necessity of these works; and we only refer to these unfortunate facts to induce the Commission to profit by the past, and to take care that similar failures do not happen in future. Whilst alluding to the Patent Rolls, we shall take the liberty of impressing on the Commission, that by giving as full an abstract as possible of the contents of those instruments, their publication will be quadrupled in value, though it is not impossible that the fees of the keepers of them may be lessened. The Calendar to the "Inquisitiones Post Mortem" is an example of the omissions which we deplore; for if the name and age of the heir had always been stated, with the manner in which he was related to the deceased, and which would not have added one hundred pages to the volumes, their utility would have been increased tenfold; to say nothing of the errors into which the public are led by finding entries introduced of Inquisitions which were not Inquisitions "Post Mortem."

Pursuant to an order of the Record Commission, on the 16th July, 1821, *six years ago*, that "the Calendars to the Proceedings in Chancery in the Tower of London, commencing with the reign of queen Elizabeth, and ending with the reign of king Charles the First be forthwith transcribed and printed:" the last volume at the head of this article has just been published. Mr. Bayley, the editor, says in his preface, that

"In carrying into effect the order of his Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records, for printing Calendars of the early proceedings in Chancery, it has been deemed adviseable to preface this work with some examples of the bills or petitions addressed to the Chancellors in each reign from the earliest period that any of them are known to be extant; as they throw considerable light on the origin of the Court of Chancery, as a court of equitable jurisdiction; and, whilst they point out the variations that have taken place from time to time in the course of proceeding in that court, and shew under whose authority or administration those alterations have been introduced;

they afford also considerable insight to the manners and customs of the times, and the orthography and phraseology of the English language, when it first came into frequent use in chancery and diplomatic proceedings."

From these specimens, some of which are very curious, we are induced to inquire why the whole, or, if they are very voluminous, why abstracts of them have not been printed? or, if even this was impracticable, why this calendar has not commenced with them? There can be no sufficient cause for fixing upon the accession of Elizabeth, and leaving those of former reigns unnoticed: on the contrary, there are stronger reasons for giving those of earlier than of later periods, since much more elucidation is required of the state of society, the manners of the times, family and personal history, and the descent of property, in the period which, with a happy facility in blundering, the Commission has passed over, than of that to which these calendars refer. Is it not possible, we respectfully ask, to act upon a decided and regular method, instead of the half measures which are adopted? If records are to be printed or calendared, would not common sense suggest that they should begin with the beginning? But no!—this would be too close an imitation of the conduct of ordinary mortals; hence, we have now volume the first, and by and by volume the second, of what ought to have been the two last volumes of the series. In a few years, perhaps, a ray of light will break in upon the Commission: it may then be discovered that piecemeal operations are not consistent with the objects of such an institution; and we shall probably have the entire contents of this volume reprinted with some slight variations, as part of a perfect collection. If we are suspected of entertaining idle fears, our answer is, we have proved that such has more than once been the case. Mr. Bayley's introductory remarks are well deserving of attention:

"Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, in his observations concerning the office of Lord Chancellor, states that there were no petitions of the Chancery remaining in the office of record of older time, than the making of the statute of the 15th of King Henry the Sixth, which enacted, that no writ of subpœna be granted till security should be found to satisfy the defendant for his damages and expenses, if the matter contained in the bill could not be made good; and he adds, that the most ancient to be found, were of the 20th year of that king. It has appeared, however, from discoveries which have been made among the records in the Tower since the year 1811, that many hundreds of suits, for nearly fifty years antecedent to the period mentioned by Lord Ellesmere, are still extant. They commence in the 17th of King Richard the Second; in which year a statute was made, enacting, that when the suggestions of the plaintiff were proved to be untrue, the Chancellor should be enabled to award costs and damages

to the defendant according to his discretion; and it is probable, that the bills or petitions of this year are the first which were regularly filed. From these proceedings, it appears that the chief business in the Court of Chancery, in those early times, did not arise from the introduction of uses of land, according to the opinion of most writers on the subject; very few instances of applications to the Chancellor on such grounds occurring among the proceedings of the chancery during the first four or five reigns after the equitable jurisdiction of the court seems to have been fully established. Most of these ancient petitions appear to have been presented in consequence of assaults and trespasses, and a variety of outrages which were cognizable at common law, but for which the party complaining was unable to obtain redress, in consequence of the maintenance or protection afforded to his adversary by some powerful baron, or by the sheriff or other officer of the county in which they occurred.

"The petitions in the reign of King Richard the Second are very numerous; they are all in the French language; and, from some of the few examples which are here introduced, it will be seen that, even at that early period, the practice prevailed for the plaintiff to find sureties to satisfy the defendant for his costs and damages, in case he failed to prove the matter contained in his bill. During the active reign of King Henry the Fourth, no bills or petitions addressed to the Chancellor have yet been found, and comparatively few appear to have been filed during that of his son and successor, King Henry the Fifth. From the commencement of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, the bills or petitions and other proceedings in the Court of Chancery appear to have been preserved with greater regularity; and in his time, the use of the English language, which had been partially introduced in the time of his predecessor, became generally adopted. For many years, the usage of the court appears to have been for the defendant to be brought before the Chancellor to be examined vivâ voce; but from the time of King Henry the Sixth, a course more assimilating to the present practice seems to have been pursued; and in most cases, which were not of a mere personal nature, the answers and other proceedings are preserved in writing, as of record. But few decrees in these early periods have been discovered, and these are generally found endorsed on the bill, a practice which continued from the time of Henry the Sixth, down to that of King Henry the Eighth, if not to a later period."

Before extracting a few passages from the specimens of the petitions which have been passed over, and which we shall do both from the curious picture which they exhibit of the manners of the times, and to prove the extraordinary sagacity of their omission, a few extracts must be given to show the plan and contents of the calendar.

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No.	Plaintiffs.	Defendants.	Object of the Suit.	Premises.	County.
18	James Butts and Henry Butts.	Francis Jermy, esquire, George Seman, and John Finch.	Claim by lease.	Lands in Foxall in the county of Suffolk.	Suffolk.
23	John Browne, Esq.	John Southwell.	Bill to redeem an annuity granted.	The scite of the house of the late dissolved monastery of Layston, and all other the manors, lands, and hereditaments, of plaintiff in Layston, charged by him with an annuity to defendant, redeemable.	Suffolk.
47	Henry Gill and Johan Sansome, widow, his mother.	John Sansome, and Nicholas Sansome.	Personal matters.	Respecting a bond, but mention is made in the bill and answer of lands and tenements in Hawkechurch and Stockland, late the estate of John Sansome, deceased.	Dorset.

These calendars are arranged in alphabetical order under the names of the plaintiffs, and extend to the letter H; but we would inquire, and the inquiry also applies to the calendar to the pleadings in the courts of the Dutchy of Lancaster, why the dates, deduced from the contents of the documents if they do not occur elsewhere, are not affixed to the different articles? The reign of Elizabeth embraced nearly half a century; and it is very material to a person who finds from this calendar that a certain proceeding took place, to know whether it happened in the year 1558, or in 1603; since it may depend on the precise time whether it be necessary for his object that he should undergo the iniquitous mulcting which attends common searches at the Tower. By common searches we mean such as are not solely of a literary nature, or for a literary purpose; for in those cases, we are told, the gentlemen belonging to that repository occasionally display a liberality of feeling highly creditable to them in every point of view.

In giving the few extracts for which we have room from the early bills in this volume, we shall select from the Editor's translations of the originals. One of these bills is accompanied by a letter from Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry the Fourth, and another by a letter from Henry the Fifth, to the Chancellor.

In the reign of Richard the Second, Robert Briddicote complains to the Chancellor, that

"As he was going along in the peace of God and of our lord the king, the Saturday next after the feast of St. Barnabas, on the high-way, on the other side of the town of Brentford, alone on foot, on a message to carry to Mr. Piers de Besiles* near Oxford, there the said John with divers persons unknown, all on horseback, met the said suppliant thus alone on foot without defence, and on him the said John cried with a loud voice in English, 'slee, slee the thefe;' 'shote, shote the thefe,' by force of which cry all the people there being, surrounded the said suppliant in great numbers, and some of them bent their bows; and some drew their swords and daggers to kill the said suppliant. Whereupon, among others, a servant of the said John Forster shot the said suppliant with an arrow through all his cloaths into his arm, and thereupon he commanded the said servant to cut off his head, and the strangers there would not suffer him: whereupon the said John Forster took a bow-string, and threw it into the water, and then tied both his hands so tightly that the blood gushed out of his fingers; and so led him as a thief to the town of Brentford, and there in the presence of divers persons he would have killed him with his dagger, if it had not been for certain esquires of my lord the Duke of York, when the said suppliant had no other expectation than that of his death," &c.—pp. iv. v.

Among the petitions in the reign of Henry the Sixth, is one from a man complaining that he had been grievously prosecuted in the sheriff's court, at the suit of Richard Rede who had slandered him, in saying, that he had taken his wife and his goods:

"The whiche forseid Richard now late cam to one Elene Faux, and wold have yeven her a goun cloth, with that she wolde have assented to be a bawde betwene Katerine his wiff and me the seid John Westowe. Ferthermore the said Richard yaf counsel and excited in all that he cowde or might to his wif for to be a strumpet, beheting here xx^{s}. with that she wolde assente and suffre the seid John Westowe to lye by here, to thentent to take hym and here to geder, and to raunson him. Also the seid Richard be hoote to oon Sire John Person preest, that if he wolde recorde afore a jugge with the seid Richard, that the seid Katerine were founden in taverne with the seid John Westowe, he wolde yeve the seid sire John for his record a noble," &c.—p. xxii.

About the same time, the queen Dowager complained that William Hicheman of Leicester, "Halywaterclerke," had been convicted of having stolen certain money and goods,

"The whiche William delivered to John Glover of Leycestr' cornesor Cxiij^{li}. iiijd. and a new sadell, a paytrell, and a bridell pric' viij^{s}. and a two hand swerd and a palet pric' vj^{s}. viijd. and a boke compiled of divers tretys pric' xls.; which wer the sayd felon godys the which

* Probably Besils-Legh, five miles from Oxford.

money and godes longyth to us as forfeyt by cause of the sayd atteindr'," &c.—p. xxiii.

Of the superstition of the fifteenth century we have some curious examples. Henry Hoigges, of Bodmin in Cornwall, gentleman, petitioned the Chancellor, stating, how that late one

"Richard Flamank of the said counte, squyer, suwyd an oyer determyner ageyn Aleyn y^e^ Priour of Bodmyn of the said counte, so th^t^ yo^r^ said suppliant was w^t^holde as attorney with the said Richard in the said mater; on S^r^. John Harry of the said toun of Bodmyn prest and servant of the said priour, of his malys and evele wylle, ymagenyng by sotill craftys of enchauntement wycchecraft and socerye, malygnyd yo^r^ said suppliant endeles to destroye thurz wechecraft abowesaid, he brake his legge, and foul was hert; thurz th^e^ weche he was in despayr of his lyff: and more over contynualy fro day to day the said sotill croft of enchauntement wycchecraft and socerye usyth and ocupyyth, and in opyn plac' pronuncit, and to fore many other dyvers persones boldely avowith and wol stonde thirby; the weche th^t^ ys weel knowen to many folkys of the said counte. And more over in opyn plac' saide th^t^ he wolde by ye said crafte of enchauntement wycchecraft and socerye, wyrke yor said suppliant his nekke to breke, and hym endeles to destroye, withoute yo^r^ gracyous eide and supporte," &c.—p. xxiv.

And so late as the reign of Henry the Seventh we find Richard Anlaby, gentleman, complaining, that

"One Robert Croke of the cite of London, late of his sympelnesse and ungodly deleyng, had w^t^ him unto his owne house a strange person, which youre seid oratour never knewe, which person affermyd and said unto the seid Robert, that he cowde by his lernyng and truste of nygromancy make that what woman the said Robert lest to have unto his wyfe he shuld have, apon which the said person was retayned still with the said Robert iiij. or v. dayes secretly, and for to accomplissh his said crafte, had at his desire and cõmaundement of the said Robert, certayne juells and sylver plate delyvered, which was put by them into a cofre w^t^ dyverse images of wex, and so by the space of the said dayes caused and made the said Robert to do certayne observauncez w^t^ lyghtes and other serimonies, which is agaynst the lawes of God and all gode faith, but in conclusion, the said persone craftly and subtilly departed from the house of the said Robert, and toke w^t^ him grete parte of the said juelles and plate, as hit hath been sithin the troble of your said oratour largely declared and notified unto him, and never had knolich thereof to fore, ffor nowe hit so, gode lord, that late your said oratour by fortune bought certayne sylver plate openly by gode recorde to the valewe of vj. *li*, as any man myght so do, which as thei that then sold hit said that the said plate was won and takyn in the last feld, ffor which nowe the said Robert surmysith that to be his, and hath affermyd an accion of trespasse to fore the shereffs of the cite of London apon your said oratour, and hath him thereupon arrestid, and by cause of his symple delyng woll not troble w^t^ the

said nygromancyr, but surmysith that yo^r said oratour shuld be pryvy unto the said delyng, whereof the contrary shall be proved to fore your lordship right evydently," &c.—pp. cxix. cxx.

Roger Polgrenn states in his petition in the same reign, that it was the custom of Cornwall " evermore out of tyme that no mynde ys be used and accustumed that yn cas yff any persone dwellyng wythynne the saide counte dye that hys heyr schall have off all maner off godes of hys fader ys the principals," p. xxxix.; but we have perhaps no other evidence of such a custom: nor do we believe that it now prevails. In another petition complaining that one Lawrence Wilkinson had seduced his maid-servant, a man describes himself as a " Textwriter of London."

In the time of Edward the Fourth, we have proof of the publication of deeds in parish churches:

" John Croke, Thomas Godard, and Thomas Botely of Newbery, sworn uppon a boke, seyen that they herde John Stokes of Brympton in the countie of Berk, gentilman, sey and declare that he saw and radde, in the parissh churche of Estildesley in the seid countie of Berk, a dede of entayle concerninge a tenement," &c.—p. lxxxv.

A petition from a priest about the same period, affords a curious example of the danger to which the clergy exposed themselves from popular resentment, if openly guilty of immoral conduct:

"Mekely besechith yo^r pour chapeleyn and oratour S^r Waultier Howard prest, that wher as he accordyng to naturall reason and lawe was syttyng and drynkyng with his owne suster in an honest hous within the cite of London, yet dyvers personez maliciously disposed toward yo^r said oratour enterd in to the said hous, surmysyng that the said woman shuld not be his suster, and ther made assaulte uppon hym, and hym ther toke, bette, and sore wounded, and from thens carried yo^r said oratour to the Compter," &c.—p. lxxxviii.

The petitions of that reign also contain one from a Spanish merchant, complaining, that one Francis Narbone of Gascoyn, enticed him into a tavern of London, and having seduced him to play at dice won of him with false dice 28*li.*, in consequence of which Narbone was arrested; but as he had taken sanctuary in Westminster, the complainant prayed the Chancellor to grant a "corpus cum causa" directed to the sheriffs of London, commanding them to bring the matter " be fore the kyng in hys Chauncery."—p. cii. Among other singular petitions, is one in the middle of the fifteenth century, for the recovery of a book.

Two suits occur for the payment of a surgeon's bill: the one informs us that James le Leche, a Dutchman, was applied to by Sir Edward Courtenay, Knight, to cure him of a disease in his

leg; and that, as Sir Edward was obliged to return into Devonshire, he engaged James to attend him, but that when he was fully healed, before he applied for payment, Courtenay ordered his servant to take him to the Compter, &c.—p. civ: and the other in the reign of Henry VII. when Peter Blank, surgeon, complained that a stationer of London "having a child that was diseased in the ie with a pynne and a webbe, willyd and desyred ye seyd oratour to cure ye seyd child;" this he undertook to do, provided the father would cause the child "to be preserved and kept from mysbehavyng hymself with his hands in toching and robbyng of the seyd ei;" but as the patient did "rub his eye" the attempt to save it failed, upon which the stationer brought an action against the doctor.—p. cxxiv. Nor are these the only litigations in which the professors of the healing art were complainants: but we have no space for further extracts. Our object in selecting the few which we have introduced from above fifty that we had marked for the purpose, is to show the valuable illustrations of manners which these petitions contain; and which would alone entitle them to attention, even were they as destitute as they are rich in information connected with legal and personal history, and the descent of property.

That the petitions in question should, under any circumstances, be neglected by a Commission established for the publication of records that elucidate the history of this country, would be sufficient matter of astonishment; but that a calendar should be ordered to be made of one part of the series to the entire omission of what, we contend, are the most useful and important, really seems to be an act of wilful absurdity which could only be exceeded by an attempt to justify or explain it. The truth however is, that the Commissioners, and it is the fault of all similar institutions that emanate from the Crown, are men of high rank, who, being fully engaged on more important official duties, are obliged to act upon suggestions, the merits of which they have neither the necessary information, nor the time to investigate. Of the gross folly of many of those propositions; and still more, of the culpable manner in which even bad plans have been executed, we have, we think, presented ample specimens for one article on the subject.

No es comida para puercos Mi Fruto, ca perlas son y aunque parezco Carrasco soy mas, pues soy Carrascon. De las Cortes, y Midrano en Cintrueñiyo, por Maria Sanchez No driza. Año 1633.

FEW, if any, of our readers are probably aware that Mr. Blanco White is not the first distinguished member of the Church of Spain who has sought a refuge in our country and communion from the snares and terrors by which his conscience was assailed in the land and the faith of his fathers. The curious little work in which we find this fact being one of extreme rarity, we may, perhaps, be thought to render a not unacceptable service to our readers by laying before them the opinions of the author on the religion in which he was nurtured. It is in the possession of Mr. Salvà *, of Regent-street, in whose catalogue of Spanish books, a work of great bibliographical learning and accuracy, it is noticed in the following words:

"This work was written by a Spaniard, who, after being an Augustin Friar in Spain, came to England, where he turned Protestant. King James ordered him to translate the Liturgy into Spanish, and as a reward for his labours made him a canon of Hereford cathedral. The leaf supplied by hand in this copy is more than a century old, an unequivocal proof that the rarity of this book is of long standing. In fact, neither Nicholas Antonio, nor any other bibliographer, either Spanish or foreign, had, so far as I can discover, the remotest idea of this author, or of his work, until La Serna Santander announced it in the catalogue of his books, and the editors of the periodical work, called 'Ocios de Españoles emigrados,' in the number for the month of May, 1824, gave notice of this copy, which is the only one of whose existence we have any account. It was at Genoa, from whence it has just been imported as a curiosity worthy to hold a place in some of the libraries of England, which contain so many bibliographical rarities."

The style of the book is fantastic, and highly characteristic of an age in which it was the fashion not only to use words to express a meaning, but to play with them in any way ingenuity could devise; and in which quirks and puns found their way into the gravest discussions, and even into the pulpit. It has, in spite of this, a tone of great earnestness and seriousness: it is dedicated to his two daughters in an address containing the counsels and sentiments of a truly christian father; which concludes in these words:

"Love God above all things, and your neighbour as yourselves. Honour your father and your honoured and generous mother. Love

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* Late Deputy to the Cortes for the city of Valencia.

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each other affectionately; do evil to no one, but according to your power, good to all: for if you act thus, that God, who is the infinite good, and from whom all good proceeds, will fill you in this life with spiritual mercies, and will provide you with temporal blessings, so that you may live in his fear, die in his favour, and be received into his glory."

All that we learn of his private history is, that he was "by birth an Hidalgo, of illustrious and wealthy lineage," although he himself was poor; that he quitted his country in search of one more favourable to his progress towards that land which was the object of his desires; and that he was still a voluntary exile from Spain. He says, quaintly,

"In England I wove four webs: one in Latin, which I called 'Texeda Retextus;' two others in English, the one called 'Miracles Unmasked;' the other, with a Latin title, 'Scruptamini Scripturas.' In the fourth I gave a Spanish voice to the English liturgy. This I did at the command of the most wise king James, of blessed memory. He rewarded me with a canonry in the cathedral of Hereford; and if God had not shortly after called him to reign in his glorious kingdom, he would have still farther advanced me, which he promised; and said, that that Prebendal stall was only the earnest of a greater recompense. With the king died my hopes; I forsook the court before it forsook me, and retired to the place of my dignity. . . . . I read all the books I could get in Romance (Spanish), and many in Latin. I ransacked popish treatises, catholic arguments and works prohibited by the Inquisition of Spain, for facts against the Church of Rome. Of these materials I compiled one large volume, in Latin, 'De Monachatu;' another, 'De Contradictionibus doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ,' in the same tongue; and another, entitled 'Carrascon,' also in Latin, in which, from the premises of anti-christian doctors, I drew christian conclusions."

The little work before us, which bears the same title as the last mentioned, is in Spanish, and was printed in the Low Countries. It is divided into chapters, most of which are headed with some passage either from decrees of councils, or from works of unquestioned authority in the Romish church. The first chapter is on the reading of the Holy Scriptures. Carrascon contends with great earnestness for the free use of the sacred volume, and lays open the motives of the intense anxiety of the popish priesthood to keep it from all eyes but their own. These arguments might appear to be sufficiently unanswerable, and these causes sufficiently obvious; but let us remember that the contest between darkness and light is still going on, and that however familiar to our minds these truths may be, there are millions into which they can find no entrance.

"All who have not lost all shame before God and man, confess that God reveals to us the way of life in the divine word. . . . . But it does not suit the pope and the priests that we should have any such

rule of faith or standard of truth. . . . Their custom is not to render an account of any thing to any body, but to require it of every body concerning every thing; so imperious and domineering are they. It is not therefore their interest to permit recourse to be had to this Sovereign Book. They care not how tortuous the way, provided it does but always mislead. To palliate and conceal their tyranny, they invent blasphemous excuses and pretexts, and even impute false testimonies to the word of God. They say it is obscure, as if His word could be otherwise than clear. They allege that it is the cause and the occasion of errors, as if truth itself had not given it to us in order that we might avoid errors, and know clearly the way to Heaven. They say that though it is good in itself, evil men make an ill use of it; as if the abuse of a thing ought to make us abandon the right use of it; or as if we ought to deprive the good of needful blessings, because the wicked pervert them to evil; and as if they did not themselves teach, that although images have been and still are the occasion of infinite errors and idolatries, and although auricular confession has been by many foully abused *, yet, that our temples are not to be stripped of the former, nor the faithful to desist from the practice of the latter. In which they clearly shew and make palpable their devilish cunning, since they prohibit what God commands, under colour that it is liable to abuse, and command what God prohibits, though they see with their eyes and feel with their hands its inconveniences and abuses."

Mr. Blanco White, in his "Letter to Charles Butler, Esq. 1826," asserts that the church of Rome had rather deliver over its doubting children to atheism and infidelity, than suffer them to search for a system of faith which might bring conviction to their understandings and repose to their hearts.

His testimony on this point is corroborated by that of Carrascon:

"Suffice it at this time to say, that a man renders himself amenable to the tribunal of the inquisition by searching the Scriptures for truth; and that, while all sorts of profane, indecent, and accursed books are permitted in our miserable Spain, the word of God alone has no place, and is rejected as pernicious."

He asserts on the authority of Luis of Granada, a friar, that the ecclesiastics of Spain vehemently opposed the printing, not only of the Scriptures, but of all works of piety and devotion whatsoever in the vulgar tongue. Fra. Joseph de Jesus-Maria declares that "in spite of numberless petitions, deliberations of the lords of the council, manifestations of public opinion, and

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* A gentleman, upon whose authority we can perfectly rely, told us the other day, that he distinctly remembered, when a child in Italy, being asked by the priest at confession, whether his father and mother lived well together—whether they had ever any disputes—what were the causes, &c. Through children and servants they thus make themselves masters of the most secret details of every family.

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royal decrees for the suppression of bad books, the laws against them were never, in any one instance, enforced, and that the execution of them was actually prevented by the interposition of the bishops and clergy:" "while," adds Carrascon, "they were so watchful and diligent in preventing the publication of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, that if any man, anxious for his salvation, and desirous of profiting by the study of them, should attempt to read them, though it were in the most hidden retreat in his house, never will there fail to be a familiar (or to speak more properly, a devil incarnate), who will surprise him in the act, and denounce him to the inquisitors, who will rob him of the word of God, and, perhaps with it, of his life."

The second chapter is on the canonical books of Scripture; and is headed by the following decree of the council of Trent:

"Our church places in the Canon of the canonical books the following, and anathematizes, and excommunicates, as accursed heretics, all who do not receive and admit them as such; to wit, the third and fourth, which we call Esdras, the book of Manasseh, the books of Tobias, Ecclesiasticus, the book of Wisdom, Judith, the 1st and 2nd of Maccabees, the history of Susanna, of Bel and the Dragon," &c.

On which Carrascon observes,

"So enormous is the temerity and insolence of this Lucifer (the Pope), that he boasts, not only that he can make any Apocryphal book canonical; that is, command any work of human invention to be received as divine, and believed in, and feared as coming from God himself; but that he can order that no chapter or book should be received as canonical without his authority. So that, if we rely on him, we should not believe in the five books of Moses, nor in the four Gospels, unless he commanded us to believe in them. Judge then, if I am right in saying, that he whose aim and tendency, and of the popish religion, is to raise the glory and authority of the Pope, since he arrogates the power of forbidding us to believe the word of God, and requires, that if it should please him to propose to us the fables of Æsop, or the rhymes of a saraband, as true and inspired by God, we are to bow our heads, and to say, Amen."

The third chapter is on the Vulgate Version of the Scriptures, and is introduced by another decree of the council of Trent.

"Our church proposes the vulgate version to the faithful, as authentic; and commands, under pain of anathema, that all should receive it as such, and should prefer it to the Greek text, and even to the Hebrew. For the fountains of the Scriptures are to be preferred to the streams of the versions, when it is certain that the fountains have not been muddied; but if they have (of which there is no doubt), we ought not to have recourse to them, but to the pure and limpid stream of the Latin edition*."

* Concil. Trid. Ses. iv. Decret. 2. Bellarm. Lib. ii. de Verb. Dei. cap. 2, &c.

We shall not follow Carrascon through his examination of the respective claims to authenticity and correctness of the Hebrew and Latin texts. It is full of learning and research; but these are not wanted to convince any reflecting mind that the study of the originals would not have been anathematized, if the translation had not been better adapted to the interests and ends of the anathematizers. The gravity and erudition of this discussion are singularly contrasted with the absurd and childish taste for *jeux de mots*, which the author, in common with many of his contemporaries, frequently evinces: a taste which probably recommended him in an especial manner to the favour of his royal patron. We must give one example:

"El venerable Beda, beda la contraria opinion, e haze la nuestra con su autoridad mas venerable."

And again:

"Whether any body has proved this [the corruptions of the Hebrew text] I know not; but I know that the greatest and most powerful defender the church of Rome has had for many centuries, the Hercules of Popery, the Goliath of the Popish Philistines, who, in all other disputes, is wont to carry matters with such a high hand, so that, like another Saul against the first Christians, and conformably with the etymology of his name*, he breathes only menaces and death; when he comes to this Hebrew contest, he trembles, gives way, and, indeed, turns his arms against his own party."

A writer of the present day would not think an anagram on his adversary's name a very efficient weapon in debate; but the works of the most illustrious schoolmen abound in this learned trifling; and traces of it are not rare in the pulpit oratory of this, and other countries, down to a much later period. When once admiration is transferred from the useful to the ingenious, there is no knowing to what a pitch of childishness even the greatest intellects will descend.

In the fourth book, Carrascon proceeds to prove that "the Vulgate" is vicious, depraved, and erroneous; and he gives some curious instances of the dexterity of the papists in mis-translating the Scriptures; and in drawing profitable conclusions. On the seventh verse of the second chapter of Malachi, "they shall seek the law at his (the priest's) mouth," they have established the useful position, "that the law is not law except from the mouth of the priest;" "so that," adds our author, "the Decalogue is not the law of God unless it be pronounced by a priest." "Image worship, which was as profitable to the coffers of the clergy as it was hurtful to the souls of the people," was sanctioned by the mis-translation of the twenty-first verse of the eleventh chapter of Hebrews: "And he worshipped, *leaning* on

* *Bella, arma, minas.*

the top of his staff; which is rendered in the Vulgate, 'et adoravit summitatem virgæ;' thus imputing to the most holy and blessed patriarch Jacob the adoration of a stick, in order to justify and canonize, by his example, their papistical and more than pagan idolatry (papana y mas que pagana idolatria)." The chapter concludes with the following curious apostrophe: "The holy Scripture says of our first father Adam, that, by the aid of the divine wisdom, he gave to all animals names so appropriate that they expressed their natures and properties. If thou, Oh Vulgate, hadst then existed, or if Adam were now among us, and had to give names, not to beasts, but to bibles, I am of opinion that he would call thee as thou callest thyself, Vulgate, since no name could be found more suited to thy most vulgar quality!" It is hardly fair to our author to quote such a passage as this, after withholding all evidence of his learning and zeal. But the controversy would be quite out of place here.

The fifth and sixth chapters contain a continuation of the same discussion. The seventh is "On Implicit Faith;" and is headed by the following remarkable passage from Bellarmine:

"Faith, in its proper nature, is not a knowledge of things which ought to be believed, but a certain assent to them, whether they be known or not. And farther, our Roman religion distinguishes faith from knowledge, and teaches that it ought rather to be defined as ignorance than as knowledge; that is, that we believe better those things of which we are ignorant than those which we know *."

"The ignorance of the people," continues our author, "is the gain of the clergy. For the blind are scrupulously timid, and easily deceived; they follow any guide, as the shadow follows the body. The Philistines put out Samson's eyes before they led him to the temple of the idol, and the papists have learnt their policy; they put out the eyes of the public understanding, that their abominations may not be seen. They do not convince by their teaching; they require to be believed before they teach. They require that Catholics should believe what the Church believes, without knowing either what they believe, or what the Church believes."

We know not how much of Bellarmine's doctrine may be disclaimed by the Catholics of Great Britain. It is difficult to imagine that any thing at once so absurd, so impudent, and so flagitious, should be maintained under the flood of light which freedom of discussion has poured upon every subject in this country. That, however, is not the test by which the Romish church is to be tried: the question is, whether she does or does not still enforce this monstrous claim to absolute power over the understandings and consciences of men.

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* Bellarm. Lib. I. de Justis, cap. 7.

The Eighth Chapter is "On Images," under the following head:

"Our church venerates and adores the images of God and of his saints; and teaches us that one of the most important doctrines proposed to us by the sacred Scriptures, and by reverend doctors, is the reverence and adoration of holy images *."

"Had St. Paul been a papist," says Carrascon, "he might easily have quieted the pious fears of Demetrius, the silversmith of Ephesus. Undeceive yourself, he might have said; for there never was, and never will be, a religion so profitable and convenient for men of your trade as ours: for our temples must be filled with idols and other things; nor do we hold a man to be a good Christian who has not a reliquary in his bosom, and crucifixes and images in his house: so that you will get more work among a hundred papists than among a thousand pagans."

What follows now is as true of the people who are thoroughly subject to the influence of popery as it was at the time it was written. This we can affirm on the testimony of competent and credible witnesses.

"Others are so ignorant and foolish that they make more obeisances to beautiful images than to ugly ones; to new than to old; to well than to ill dressed: they believe that the finer they are, the holier they are; and they offer most money to those which are the richest."

He asserts, that the belief in the power and divinity of images is not confined to the people; but is the doctrine and creed of the learned. He quotes numerous addresses and invocations to images in proof of this assertion. We have only room for one or two.

"Salve Deus! crux resplendens, unica spes mortalium,"&c.

And again:

"Image of our lady of Atocha, the most ancient patroness of Madrid, mediatrix, friend, shield, and protectress, acknowledged lady, comforter under all our necessities, served and revered as such †," &c.

"Who does not know," he adds, "that in all dangers, tribulations, pains, and sufferings, one man invokes the crucifix of Burgos, another calls on the image of Montserrat, another devotes himself to that of Atocha, another makes vows to that of Loretto; few or none to God. I have in my possession a book on the miracle of the crucifix of St. Augustin de Burgos, full of instances of people who in sickness or danger invoked it from distant countries in these words: 'O holy crucifix of Saint Augustine of Burgos, have mercy upon this child!

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* El Padre Fr. Balthasar Pacheco, en su summario, p. 51.

† Fol. 30. De la Patrona de Madrid. Written to instruct the servant of that image how she is to be addressed and glorified.

restore this child! Holy crucifix of Saint Augustin, have pity upon them! O holy crucifix, give them life; for it is a light thing to you to heal them, and I promise to take them to your chapel! O holy and blessed crucifix, I supplicate you by your own nature (por quien vos soys) that you would grant me so much favour and mercy as to give the fruit of benediction!'"

"In order that the Roman catholic may not accuse us and excuse himself, by saying that neither these people nor any others invoke the crucifix, but God in it, I will add two other expressions, which clearly show that the papists invoke the very wood, believe in stones, place their hopes in images, and render thanks to idols:

"I give thanks to God and to the holy crucifix *.

"I place my hope only in God and the holy crucifix †.

"And that they may not reply, that by the holy crucifix they mean Christ Jesus, I add another, which will not admit of any excuse or evasion whatever:

"I commend myself to Christ, *and to the holy crucifix* ‡."

These instances are taken from a book of authority among them, and are proposed as examples which they are exhorted to imitate.

"The idols of the Gentiles," continues he, "had mouths, but spoke not. Those of the Romanists, on the contrary, speak, though they have no mouths. It is affirmed that a crucifix in the church of St. Dominic, at Naples, spoke to De Aquinas, and said, 'Well hast thou written concerning me, Thomas!'"

We cannot find room for the details of another miracle of the same kind, which occurred at Madrid, where a crucifix accused five Jews of having scourged it. The unhappy men were, on that evidence, put to the torture: the only one who had sufficient resolution to persist in denying the charge was burnt; the others were sent to the galleys.

"The statues of the ancients had feet, but walked not. The idolaters went to the idols, but not the idols to the idolaters, as among the papists."

Among other of these singular deambulations, he mentions that the crucifix of Burgos walked from that city to Cogollado, near Guadalaxara, to resuscitate a woman; "and it is as unquestionably true," adds he, "that it did resuscitate her as that it went."

We have not space for many more of these fables. One more, however, concerning this same crucifix of Burgos, with which Carrascon had a more peculiar acquaintance:

"The friars of that monastery assert, that it once stretched out both its hands, and gave a great blow on the head to a sick woman,

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* Cap. 38, fol. 65. † Cap. 41, fol. 70.
‡ Cap. 81, fol. 11, et al.

by which it cured her of a very dangerous illness. I was a conventual of this monastery for some time; and although my companions every day published miracles, I never could see one in spite of all my endeavours. I then began to entertain doubts of the truth of them; and at the time I left the monastery I did not doubt, but was perfectly certain, that the miracles were the work, not of the crucifix, but of the friars."

"While I was in the convent of St. Augustin, at Burgos," he adds, in another place, "studying arts, King Philip III. came to keep his Novene there, accompanied by the prince now reigning, and by the Infants. His majesty, with his whole court, lodged in the monastery which had been favoured by him and his progenitors with great privileges and bountiful gifts, worthy of his generosity, but unworthily bestowed on those base hypocrites. By these means he obtained absolution, and the friars immense riches; so that it is manifest how much reason the friars have to honour their benefactors the images. The loadstone attracts only iron, but these sticks and stones attract gold; and not only near but from afar off. This, in my opinion, is the real wonder and miracle they perform."

These mysteries of the religion of Rome are now so thoroughly revealed that they scarcely stand in need of farther elucidation, even from one so fully initiated.

We must leave this amusing chapter, and pass on to the Ninth, "On the performance of divine service in the Latin tongue:" the head, or text, is as follows:

"The Latin Church celebrates, and ought to celebrate, the divine service in Latin. And it is of no importance that the people do not understand it, since God understands it."

Is it to be believed that a set of men calling themselves teachers of the people have had the audacity to put forth such a piece of insolent and blasphemous absurdity as this? Or can we wonder at the indignation with which Carrascon exclaims—

"Service for the instruction of the people? that they may know what they ask? Oh, God help me, how do the priests mock at the people! Great is the effrontery of the former, and the simplicity of the latter! The former, in saying that they are commanded to speak with a loud voice, in order that they may be understood by all, while they speak in Latin that they may be understood by none; the latter, for their stupidity in not perceiving that the priests jest with them like children! Spaniards, suffer not that those who live on your substance should sport with your consciences."

Carrascon affirms that it was matter of notoriety that many of the priests knew no more of Latin than their hearers; and muttered an unintelligible jargon at the altar.

The Tenth and last chapter is on the institution of religious orders—Del Monachado o Fraylia.

"All who are not friars," says his quotation, "are defiled with the mire of innumerable sins, and condemned to innumerable punish-

ments and miseries. The rest of the world is a Sodom and an Egypt. But each of the religious orders is like an ark built at the command and by the inspiration of God. . . . . Wherefore, to believe that, without becoming friars, men can preserve themselves from ruin in the midst of the flames and of the mire of the world, is a suggestion of the devil, and a most arrogant presumption. I have not inserted here," says Carrascon, "an hundredth part of what monks and friars say and write concerning themselves. Let the reader consult the writers referred to in the margin*, and he will see that I deal very courteously with them in not putting in more of their boastings. For there is nothing which the Scripture says of the wicked that they do not apply to all who are not friars; nor any thing of the good, which they do not appropriate to themselves."

It is unnecessary in this age and country to enlarge on the peculiar abominations of these societies. Great light has recently been thrown upon their disgusting enormities in the last century; and very little inquiry is sufficient to convince us that in Spain and Italy, where they hold the press and the public mind in complete thraldom, matters are very little improved. But let it be remembered, that evidence on this point can only be had from those who have not only taken up the sword, but thrown away the scabbard.

But to return to Carrascon. His opinion of the members of religious communities may be gathered from the following commentary on a passage of Polydore Virgil: "But friars and nuns," says that writer, "reject the works of precept to do those of opinion;" (consejo) "they transfer," adds Carrascon, "the honour due to their parents, to their prelates, and the cares and assistance due to those nearly connected with them, to strangers; they withdraw the allegiance God hath ordered to be paid to princes and magistrates, to subject themselves to the provincials and priors whom they themselves have established; they refuse to bear the charges of the state, which God hath imposed, and take upon themselves those of their monasteries, which he hath not enjoined."

"The monks of former times," adds he, "ate little and worked much; those of our days eat much and work little. They eat their bread in the sweat of their brow: not that they sweat in earning, but in guzzling with such vehemence (contanta fuerza) what others have sweated to earn." He concludes an enumeration of the reforms necessary to the Church of Spain in these

* Padre Puente, 4 tom. de la Perfec. trat. 4. cap. 4, 5, 6 y 7. trat. 5. cap. 2.—Alvarado en la Arte di bien vivir. lib. 3. c. 12. y lib. 4. cap. 10.—Don Antonio de Guevara, in a speech pronounced at a general chapter of his order, fol. 2. 407, et seq.—Fra Felipe Diez.—Benedicto Fernando.

words: "Oh, how happy would Spain be, if such a purification of her church could be accomplished! Greater miracles than this hath God wrought, and while we live we will hope*."

It is time, however, that we take our leave of this adopted son of our church. We cannot dismiss the subject without some acknowledgment of the liberality which has permitted us to make such ample use of so rare and valuable a work; a liberality which did not stop here, since we might, did our limits permit, avail ourselves of it yet farther, to extract from several other scarce books, matter illustrative of the same subject. To these, however, we must content ourselves with little more than a reference. One of the most remarkable is a collection of poems, entitled, "Aula de Dios, Cartuxa Real de Zaragoza,

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* Twenty, nay, ten years ago, who would have predicted that we were to look for advocates of the religious orders in France? Bold, however, is the man who will venture to form any anticipations as to the future state of opinion in that country. The *Courier Français* of the 12th of June, 1826, contains the following article: "Since the archbishop of Hermopolis has proclaimed from the tribune the existence of the Jesuits in France, there is not a single suitor for office, not a single aspirant, high or low, who does not think proper to be a Jesuit, or a partisan of Jesuits." The *Drapeau Blanc* gives us consultations in favour of the reverend fathers, concocted by an advocate, who reckons more upon their patronage than upon his own talents for success at the bar. Not content with pleading in favour of the legality of the re-establishment of the Jesuits, he now demands the re-establishment of all the religious orders, Carmelites, Cordeliers, Capuchins, Augustines, Benedictines, &c. &c. This, according to him, is the only way of maintaining order and prosperity among us, and of encouraging the progress of civilization. "It is evident," says he, "to all who do not see the sole happiness of a people in their physical advantages, that societies of recluse saints, or of holy maids, who consecrate their lives and their pious retirement to celebrating the praises of God and praying for the people, are an immense benefit to a country." "Religious Orders," he adds further on, "render great services to agriculture, to the poor, to literature, and to the state." Spain enjoys this *immense benefit*, and consequently how pure are her morals, how inviolate her laws, how flourishing agriculture and letters, how powerful the state! In his enumeration of the various classes which enjoy a prosperity proportionate to the number and the prosperity of religious orders, the advocate has forgotten one which deserved notice—highway robbers. As soon as monks get possession of a country, robbers follow; and it becomes as easy to extirpate the one as the other: witness Portugal, Spain, Rome, Naples. France is cursed with three great evils which our apostolics incessantly deplore: an industrious population, a well cultivated soil, and safe roads. Give us monks, and we shall soon be restored to a level with the four most Catholic countries of Europe.

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aora nuevamente Añadida y aumentada por otro monge, de la misma Cartuxa. Zaragoza, 1679. By Padre D. Miguel de Dicastilio."

"We see by the dedication, and by Latassa, in his Bibliotheca, vol. iv. page 185, that additions were made to the work by Father Augustin Nagore, a monk who, not satisfied with the poetical praises bestowed on him by others, has eulogized himself under fictitious names in two sonnets, two octaves, and a romance, which are at the beginning of this work. From these five pieces of poetry we discover, that the reverend father did not quite utter the sentiments of his heart, when he spoke and wrote in praise of solitude and a monastic life; but that his mind was often filled with less elevated ideas. Uniting the first letters of each line in the above mentioned poems, we find in the first sonnet, *Augustin, Fausta;* in the octaves, *Mi Augustin, tu Fausta;* in the romance, *Fausta y Augustin son una alma sola en dos cuerpos;* and, in the last sonnet, *Mi esposa Fausta.* I do not know if these acrostics have been already observed.

"Although these remarks are of no importance whatever to bibliography, they serve to unveil the hypocrisy, artifice, and villany of men who, under the cloak of austerity and sanctity, have affected to be exempt from the passions and weaknesses of human nature; and have brought innumerable evils upon the world, by means of the ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism, which they have disseminated amongst their fellow-creatures*."

We give one specimen of the gallant father's ingenuity:

"Moral Vaxel, que en medio la inconstancia
Infelize del mundo toma puerto,
Es la que se deserive con acierto
Sacra Mansion el culta consonancia.
Pone firme la quilla la constancia
Opone plaça de armas el concierto,
Soberano fanal el logro cierto
Arbol seguro e fiel la vigilancia.
Felices Remos son los exercisios,
Amorosos fogon los coraçones,
Velas ligeras los prudentes juizios:
Seguras larcias puras araciones,
Trompeta es il callar contra los vicios,
Armas los miembros, tiros los acciones."

It is obvious that, if open violation of all the rules by which these men professed to be governed had not been so common as to attract little or no animadversion, Father Augustin would hardly have ventured to trust the secret of his passion to an acrostic. Proofs of the most undisguised and brutal profligacy might be adduced to nausea. But the investigation is odious

* Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books, p. 83. By Vincent Salvà. 1826.

and useless, except to show, that wherever there is a class of men, who have availed themselves of the religious sanction with such success, as to make themselves absolute masters of public opinion, public morals are at their mercy; and, consequently, must, in time, fall before the resistless temptations which such a power affords. It is thus, that societies, whose founders acquired influence by the purity and sanctity of their lives, come in time to use that influence to the destruction of every thing that can stand in the way of their immediate interest or gratification.

Another work, from which we could draw abundance of useful illustrations of the peculiar aptitude of the Roman Catholic religion for the purposes of ambition, is the history of the curious intrigue, got up during the long troubles preceding the death of Charles II. of Spain, to prove that that feeble and unhappy monarch was under the influence of witchcraft *. The interrogations put to the devil, supposed to be in the body of the king, by this confessor, who acted the part of principal juggler, together with the corresponding replies, are quite worthy of translation; but we have no room for them here. It must be particularly observed, that this was a formal proceeding, to which the highest personages in Spain, and many other countries, were parties, at the end of the seventeenth century, ten years after the English had placed William of Orange on the throne. Few, we think, will be found to maintain that, in any non-catholic country, a farce, at once so ludicrous and so blasphemous, could have been acted in 1698.

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* Diaz (Froylan) Noticia de los Autos Sequidos contra el M'ro. Fr. Froylan Diaz, Confesor que era del Señor Carlos II. y Inquisidor de la Suprema, con motivo de los hechizos de dicho Rey. MS. in folio.

Historical and Antiquarian Magazine.

ON THE BANNERS USED IN THE ENGLISH ARMY FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

"With all their banners bravely spread,
And all their armour flashing high;
Saint George might waken from the dead
To see fair England's standards fly."

WALTER SCOTT.

IT would be difficult to name a subject more intimately connected with all that is chivalrous in English history than an account of the Banners which were borne in the field under our early monarchs; and the mind must indeed be callous to national glory that is not interested in all that relates to those ensigns under which the victories of Poictiers, of Cressy, and of Agincourt were gained. Whilst innumerable essays and dissertations have been written upon pieces of brass or stone, this point of antiquarian research has never received the attention that it deserves. The following remarks, which have been deduced from undoubted sources, are therefore submitted with the hope that they will throw some light upon a curious, if not important, part of historical investigations; and if they have no other merit, they will perhaps serve as the outlines of a picture which ought long since to have been completed.

That a standard, or ensign, was borne in the armies of all nations from the most distant era, is a fact which is too well established both by sacred and profane history to admit of the slightest doubt; but these observations will be confined to the Banners used in the English army from the Conquest to the death of Henry the Eighth. Until the latter part of the reign of Edward the First, materials for the inquiry are extremely scanty; and

almost all which will be here said on it before that time has been taken from Dr. Meyrick's admirable work on ancient armour.

Banners, in the present acceptation of the term, are coeval with the introduction of heraldry, or armorial bearings; and which may perhaps be safely stated to have been adopted in this country about the twelfth century: a question which will be partially elucidated.

William the Conqueror is represented on his great seal with a lance in his right hand, to which a small pennon is attached[1]; and which Dr. Meyrick considers was then called a "gonfanon." "It differs," that learned writer observes, "from a banner in this respect, that instead of being square, and fastened to a tronsure bar, the gonfanon, though of the same figure, was fixed in a frame made to turn like a modern ship's vane, with two or three streamers or tails. The object of the gonfanon was principally to render great people more conspicuous to their followers, and to terrify the horses of their adversaries: hence the gonfanon became a mark of dignity." From the Bayeux Tapestry it would appear that a kind of standard was borne near the person of the commander in chief; and which is described by the writers of the period as a gonfanon. Wace says,

"Li Barons ourent *gonfanons,* The Barons had gonfanons,
Li Chevaliers ourent penons." The Knights had pennons.

The pennon was a sort of streamer; but the Conqueror's gonfanon, as depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, has three tails, and is charged with a cross[2]. Though the other gonfanons are variously coloured, they resemble each other in shape, of which a copy is given in the plate[3]. William's is always painted Argent a cross Or, within a bordure Azure; and the same charge also occurs on the mast of his ship, though in a square form, of which a representation is also given[4]. According to William of Malmsbury, the standard of the Conqueror, at the battle of Hastings, was in the form of a fighting man, wrought with gold and precious stones in a costly manner; and which he afterwards sent to the Pope[5]. The gonfanon attached to the lance of

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[1] See Plate No. 5. [2] See Plate No. 4.
[3] See Plate No. 3. [4] See Plate No. 2.
[5] "Vexillum illud post victoriam Papæ misit Willielmus, quod erat in hominis pugnantis figura, auro, et lapidibus arte sumptuosa contexum."—Lib. iii. p. 101. At the Battle of the Standard in 1138, the standard used by the English, we are told, consisted of the mast of a ship fixed upon a wheeled carriage, at the top of which was placed a silver pix, containing a consecrated wafer; and under were hung three banners, one dedicated to St. Peter, another to St. John of Beverley, and the third to St. Wilfred of Rippon.

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William Rufus on his great seal is simply swallow-tailed[1]: that of King Stephen differed slightly in the form from both, and was charged with a cross[2]. Henry Duke of Normandy's pennon is shown on the plate[3], which also contains drawings of two other pennons used about the same period[4]. As, after that time, the kings of England and other great personages are always represented with a sword instead of a lance in their right hands, no farther information is to be gleaned from their seals. Upon the adoption of armorial ensigns, there is ample evidence to show that the pennon or gonfanon was charged with the arms of the bearer: hence the precise period when Heraldry was introduced is so intimately connected with the subject, that some remarks on the point are indispensable. Montfaucon presents an example of arms on a shield on a monument in 1109; but the tomb of Geoffrey Mandeville, Earl of Essex, in the Temple Church, who died in 1148, is perhaps the earliest instance which exists of the use of armorial bearings in this country. No arms appear on the seals of our monarchs until the reign of Richard the First; and it was only on his second seal that the present ensigns of England were introduced. The great barons were not long before they imitated the seals of their sovereign. Saier de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, who died in 1219, and Richard de Montfichet, the last person of which name flourished in the reign of John and in the commencement of that of his successor, are represented on horseback, holding in their right hands a shield with their arms, and in their left a lance with a pennon similarly charged. The pennon of the earl is shown in the plate[5], and which contained the coat he used, Or a fess Gules and a label of eleven points Azure; whilst that of Montfichet appears charged with three chevronels[6], his arms being Gules three chevronels Or.

A still earlier instance remains, however, to be mentioned. In a collection of drawings of ancient seals[7] is one of Waleran de Bellomont, who was created Earl of Worcester in 1144, and died in 1166. Upon one side he is represented on horseback, holding in his right hand a shield Checky, and in his left a lance with a pennon of four tails, the upper being Checky[8], and the legend "Sigillum Gualerani Comitis Wigornie." On the reverse he also appears mounted, and has a shield in his left hand similarly charged, but his right supports a sword: the legend

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[1] See Plate No. 6. [2] See Plate No. 9. [3] See No. 10.

[4] See Nos. 8 and 11. Nearly all three pennons have been copied from the seals engraved either in Sandford's "Genealogical History," or in the first volume of the authorized edition of the "Statutes of the Realm."

[5] See Plate No. 13. [6] See Plate No. 12.

[7] In the Lansdown MS. 203. [8] See Plate No. 7.

being "Sigillum Gualerani Comitis Mellenti, the title of his earldom in Normandy. Without multiplying authorities, sufficient has perhaps been said to establish the fact, that armorial bearings were used in England in the reign of Henry the Second; and that as the pennon was charged with them, it is obvious that they were borne as banners in the field. That the pennon of the sovereign was similarly marked can scarcely be doubted, but we have no account of any thing like a national standard; nor indeed does it appear that the square banner was then used. It was however in all probability introduced in the reign of Henry the Third; for, though no evidence on the point has been discovered with respect to this country, we find that Otho Count of Gueldres is depicted on his seal, in 1247, holding a square banner charged with his arms, a lion rampant[1]; and in the window of the cathedral of Notre Dame de Chartres is a representation of Simon de Montfort, who was Earl of Leicester from 1236 to 1265, on horseback, in which his shield appears, Gules a lion rampant double queued Argent, and he holds in his right hand a banner, per pale dancette Gules and Argent[2]. From the seals engraved in De Wree's "Sceaux de Comptes de Flandres," it appears that William Count of Flanders, in 1127, bore a split pennon on his lance, and Philip, his successor, a square one; whilst the Count Baldwin, in 1193, carried one with three tails. All these were however very different from the pennon used by Philip Marquis of Namur in 1244, an idea of which can only be conveyed by the pencil[3].

About the same period, the pennon of Ferdinand the Third, King of Castile, from 1216 to 1252, as painted in the windows of the cathedral of Notre Dame de Chartres, contained a castle; but its form resembled the pennon of the Duke of Normandy. A modern writer[4] asserts, though without referring to his authority in a sufficiently accurate manner, that Henry the Third[5], in the 28th year of his reign, commanded Edward Fitz Odo to make a dragon in manner of a standard or ensign, of red samite, and embroidered with gold, his eyes of sapphire, and his tongue to appear continually moving; and to place it in the abbey church of Westminster. A few words are consequently neces-

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[1] *Sceaux des Comptes de Flandres*, p. 78.

[2] Engraved in Willemin's *Monumens Français inedits;* a work which, whilst it is an honour to his country, is a disgrace to our own; that, with a Society of Antiquaries possessing a revenue of nearly 3000*l.* per annum, we have produced nothing which can even be compared to it in utility.

[3] See Plate No. 20.

[4] Dart's *Westminster Abbey*, vol. i. p. 26.

[5] Sandford also says, that a dragon was borne before Henry the Third at the battle of Lewes.

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sary on the subject of a dragon having been borne as an ensign by early English monarchs. Matthew of Westminster asserts, that in the battle between Edmund Ironside and Canute, "Regius locus fuit inter *draconum* et standardum:" thus the dragon, if used on that occasion, was clearly not the *standard*. If the Bayeux Tapestry can be relied on, the statement of Matthew of Westminster is powerfully corroborated; for we there repeatedly find a dragon on a pole occur near the person of Harold; and in the instance which has been copied on the plate[1], the words "Hic Harold" are placed over it. Amongst the ensigns displayed by Edward the Third at Cressy, according to Barnes, in his "History of Edward the Third," but whose statement is not supported by contemporary writers[2], was a burning dragon, to show that the French were to receive little mercy. "It was," he says, "of red silk, adorned and beaten with very broad and fair lilies of gold, and bordered about with gold and vermilion." In many of the illuminations of MSS. in the fifteenth century, which will be more fully noticed, a gold dragon on a red pennon is often introduced as one of the ensigns in the French armies; but until the reign of Henry the Sixth, upon one of whose coins a banner occurs charged with a demi-dragon, no other evidence is to be found of that imaginary animal having ever been used as one of the national or royal ensigns, than the authorities which have been cited.

Of the Banners borne in armies in the reign of Edward the First we have valuable and minute information. At that era, at least, Heraldry was reduced to a science; and two contemporary MSS. on the subject still exist. The one is an heraldic poem describing the siege of Carlaverock Castle in June 1300, in which the arms of every banneret of the English army are accurately blazoned; and many curious passages illustrative of the object of this inquiry will be copied from it. At the same time that they show what banners were then used, we may infer that the like practice prevailed at an earlier period; for in one instance it is expressly said, that a certain thing was done agreeably to the accustomed usage.

At the commencement, the Poet observes,

"La ont meinte riche garnement Brode sur cendeaus et samis Meint beau penon en lance mis Meint baniere desploie."	There were many rich caparisons embroidered on silks and satins; many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance; and many a banner displayed.

It is thus manifest, that besides the pennon on the lance,

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[1] See Plate No. 1.

[2] Barnes cites *Villani* and *Gaguin*.

banners were then borne by every banneret; and under which the men at arms furnished by him were drawn up. From the description of William de Leybourne, we learn that both the banners and pennons were charged with the arms of their owners:

"Guillemes de Leybourne ausi Vaillans homs sans mes et sans si Baniere i ot o larges pans Inde o sis blanc lyons rampans."	Also William de Leybourne, a valiant man without *but* and without *if*, had there a *banner* and *a large pennon* of blue, with six white lions rampant.

But it is here necessary to inquire who possessed the right of bearing a banner in the field, a point upon which that valuable poem throws much light. When the English army was composed of the tenants *in capite* of the crown, with their followers, it appears that such tenants were entitled to lead them under a banner of their arms; but the precise number of men so furnished, which conferred this privilege, has not been ascertained. Judging, however, from the "Siege of Carlaverock," it would seem that early in the fourteenth century there was a banner to every twenty-five or thirty men at arms; for we are told,

"Lors se arengierunt baneour Si veist on meint poigneour Il loet son cheval esprouver Et puest on ilvec trouver Trois mil homes de armee gent"	Then were the banners arranged, when one might observe many a warrior there exercising his horse; and there appeared *three thousand brave* men at arms.

whilst the number of banners mentioned in the poem do not exceed one hundred and five.

It was intended to have submitted some observations in this place with the view of illustrating the precise meaning of the word "Banneret," about which nothing conclusive has yet been said; but the space which they would occupy render it necessary that they should form a distinct article in a future number.

When the tenant *in capite* was unable to attend in person from sickness or from being otherwise engaged in the king's service, he nevertheless sent the quota of men at arms and archers, for which, by the tenure of his lands, he was engaged; and his banner was committed to the charge of a deputy of equal rank to his own. Thus at Carlaverock, the Bishop of Durham being prevented from attending by some public duty which detained him in England, he sent one hundred and sixty of his men at arms with his banner, which, it is worthy of remark, was simply that of his paternal arms,

"Vermeille o un fer de molin Dermine, i envoia se enseigne."	He sent there his ensign, which was gules with a fer de molin of ermine.

without any reference to those of his See; and which tends also to prove that in the field he was considered merely as a temporal

baron. It was entrusted to John de Hastings, who was to conduct it in the prelate's name, because he was his most intimate friend:

" Celuy ki tot honnour enseigne
Johans de Hastinges a nom
La devoit conduire en son nom
Car il estoit o lui remes
Li plus prives li plus ames
De qanques il en i avoit."

He who all honour displays, John de Hastings, was to conduct it in his name; for it was entrusted to him as being the most intimate and the best-beloved of any one he had there.

A similar instance occurs in the case of Lord Deincourt:

" Et kant li bons a Eymons Daincourt
Ne pout mie venir a court
Ses deus bons filz en son lieu mist
O sa baniere o eus tramist
De inde coulour de or biletee
O un dance surgette."

And, as the good Edmond Deincourt could not attend himself, he sent his two brave sons in his stead; and with them his banner of a blue colour billetté of gold, with a dancette over all.

The most curious fact on the subject which is established by the poem is, with respect to the banner of an earl; for it is evident that it was considered to belong to the dignity rather than to the individual. Ralph de Monthermer, though Earl of Gloucester in right of his wife, Joan, daughter of King Edward the First, and widow of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, by which title he was repeatedly summoned to parliament, led his followers on that occasion under the banner of Clare, the earls of Gloucester, whilst he was himself vested in a surcoat of his own paternal arms, which he also bore on his shield. After noticing his marriage, the Poet says,

" De or fin o trois chiovrons vermaus
I ot baniere seulement
Si ne faisoit pas malement
Kant ses propres armes vestoit
Jaunes ov le egle verde estoit
E ot nom Rauf de Monthermer[1]."

He had only a banner of fine gold with three red chevrons. He made no bad appearance when *attired in his own arms,* which were yellow with a green eagle. His name was Ralph de Monthermer.

This fact is the more worthy of attention, because it corroborates the opinion that he possessed the dignities of Earl of Gloucester and Hertford solely in right of his wife; for on her death in 1307 he ceased to enjoy them, and they were assumed by Gilbert

[1] That Monthermer continued to use his paternal coat only, is further proved by his seal attached to the Baron's letter to the Pope in February, 1301. His shield, helmet, and the caparisons of his horse are charged with an eagle, though it is inscribed—S: Radulfi: de: Monte: Hermerii: Com: Glovcernie: et: Hertford.

de Clare, her son by her first husband; Monthermer being summoned to the very next parliament as a baron only.

Banners were carried wherever those to whom they belonged and their followers were engaged. At Carlaverock, that of John Fitz Marmaduke, whose intrepidity is highly eulogized, is said to have

"_____ ot meinte tache — received many stains, and
Et meint percuis mal a reconstre." many a rent difficult to mend.

And it may be perhaps inferred from the following lines in Lydgate's description of the battle of Agincourt, that such was also the practice in the fifteenth century. The Duke of York is made to say,

"Be myn baner sleyn will y be,
Or y will turne my backe, or me yelde."

However valuable may be the information respecting the banners of bannerets which the "Siege of Carlaverock" affords, it yields in importance to that which it presents of what may almost be termed National Ensigns. The sovereign of course had a banner of his arms, the charges on which have been noticed by two writers of the period as exhibiting a metaphorical allusion to Edward's merits:

"En sa baniere trois luparte
De or fin estoint mis en rouge
Courant felloun fier et harouge
Par tel signifiance mis
Ke ausi est vers ses enemis
Li rois fiers felouns et hastans
Car sa morsure nest tastans
Nuls ki nen soit envenimez[1]."

In his banner were three leopards courant of fine gold set on, red, fierce, haughty, and cruel; thus placed to signify that, like them, the king is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies; for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger.

"Rex Anglor' nobilis
Ferox est et stabilis
Fortis et non debilis
Senciet id flebilis

Vocatus Edwardus
Tanq'm leopardus
Velox et non tardus
Pomposus Picardus[2]."

But three other banners were carried in the English army, and which were undoubtedly connected with sentiments of religion, though one of them subsequently became the national banner of this country. They were the banners of St. George, the tutelar saint of England; St. Edmund, king of the West Saxons; St. Edward the Confessor; and, at a subsequent period, the banner of the Trinity.

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[1] Siege of Carlaverock.

[2] Rismus factus de perdicione Vasconiæ, et de ejusdem conquestu per regem Edwardum filium regis Henrici. Printed among the Illustrations of the "Chronicle of London," p. 194.

The banner of St. George Argent, a cross Gules [1], is still borne as part of the English flag, though, from the disgraceful manner in which it has been amalgamated with the crosses of St. Andrew and St. Patrick, it has not only lost all its purity, but presents a melancholy example of the ignorance of heraldry, and total want of patriotism and taste, which must have characterised those to whom we unfortunately owe its arrangement [2].

St. Edmund's banner is generally considered to have been Azure three crowns Or, 2 and 1 [3]; but it is certain, from the annexed singular description, by Lydgate, that two banners were appropriated to that saint; and of which there are drawings in the contemporary copy of that writer's works from which it has been extracted [4]. One of them was that which is just mentioned; but the other must be described in his own words.

Blyssyd Edmund kyng martir and vyrgyne
Hadde in thre vertues by grace a sovereyn prys
E which he venquysshed al venymes serpentyne
Adam ba serpent banysshed fro Paradys
Eva also be cause she was nat wys
Eet off an appyl of flesshly fals plesance
Which thre figures Edmund by gret avys
Bar in his baner for a remembrance
Lyk a wys kyng peeplys to governe
Ny unto reson he gaff the sovereynte
Figur of Adam wyssly to dysceme
T' oppresse in Eva sensualite
A lamb off gold high upon a tre
An heavenly signe a tokne off most vertu
To declare how that humylite
Above alle vertues pleseth most J'hu

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[1] See Plate No. 14. In the *Golden Legend*, written in the reign of Edward the First by Jacobus de Voraigne, it is said, on the authority of some history of Antioch, "St. George had whyte armes with a reed crosse," and is cited by Mr. Douce in his communication to the Society of Antiquaries of a drawing of an illumination in a missal, representing two figures, the one of St. George, and the other of a knight. St. George is vested in a surcoat of his arms, and holds a banner and shield charged with them. The other knight supports a banner with the arms of England, with a label of five points, each point charged with a fleur-de-lis; and which also appear on his sword and shield. *Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 210. The illumination in question is at least as early as the reign of Edward the Second.

[2] See some remarks on the subject in the first number of the *Naval and Military Magazine*.

[3] See Plate No. 15.

[4] Harl. MSS. 2278, f. 2—4.

Off Adamys synne was wasshe a way the rust
Be vertu only off this lambys blood
The serpentys venym and al flesshly lust
Sathan outraied ageyn man most wood
Tyme whan this lamb was offred on the rood
For our redemption to which havyng reward
This hooly martir, this blyssyd king so good
Bar this lamb hiest a loffte in his standard

The feeld of Gowlys was tokne off his suffrance
Whan cruel Danys were with him at werre
And for a signe off Royal suffisance
That no vices never maad hym erre
The feeld powdryd with many hevenly sterre
And halff cressantis off gold ful bryht and cleer
And wher that evere he iourneyde nyh or ferre
Ny in the feeld, with hym was this baneer

Which be influence off our lord J'hu
As it hath be preved offte in deede
This hooly standard hath power and vertu
To stanche fyres and stoppe flawmys rede
By myracle, and who that kan take heede
God grantyd it hym for a prerogatyff,
Be cause al heete off lust and flesshlyheede
Were queynt in hym duryng all his lyff

This vertuous baner shal kepen and conserve
This lond from enmyes daute ther cruel pryde
Off syxte Herry, the noblesse to preserve
It shall be born in werrys be his syde
T' encresse his vertues Edmund shal been his guyde
By processe t'enhance his royal lyne
This martir shal by grace for hym provyde
To be registred among the worthy nyne"

This extraordinary combination has been copied on the Plate [1], from the illumination in the manuscript.

Lydgate's description of the banner, which is usually attributed to St. Edmund, is as follows:

This other Standard, feeld stable off colour ynde
In which off gold been notable crownys thre
The first tokne in cronycle men may fynde
Graunted to hym for Royal dignyte
And the seconde for virgynyte
For martirdam the thrydde in his suffryng
To these annexyd fleyth hope and charyte
In tokne he was martyr mayde and kyng

[1] See No. 16.

These thre crownys kyng Edmund bar certeyn
Whan he was sent be grace off Goddis hond
At Geynesburuh for to slen kyng Sweyn
By which myracle men may undirstond
Delyvered was fro trybut all thys lond
Mawgre Danys in full notable wyse
For the hooly martyr dissolvyd hath that bond
Set this Region ageyn in his franchise

These thre crownys historyaly t' aplye. *Applicacio.*
By pronostyk notably sovereyne
To sixte Herry in fygur signefye
How he is born to worthy crownys tweyne
Off France and Ingland, lynealy t' atteyne
In this lyff heer, afterward in hevene
The thrydde crowne to receyve in certeyne
For his merits above the sterrys sevene.

The banner of St. Edward the Confessor was Azure, a cross flory between five martlets Or [1].

The "Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ," of the 29th Edward 1299—1300, contains the annexed entries on the subject:

"Lancee empte pro vexillis Regis. } Domino Willielmo de Felton, pro quinque lanceis emptis pro quinque vexillis Regis portandis in guerra Scocie anno presenti, videl' duobus vexillis de armis Anglie, tercio vexillo de armis Sancti Jeorgij, quarto de armis Sancti Edmundi, et quinque de armis Sancti Edwardi, pro quolibet lancea ij*s*—per manus Willielmi de Etchewiche valleti sui apud Tynewold, octavo die Julij [2] x*s*."

From another entry in these accounts, we have proof that the banner of St. Cuthbert [3] was carried in the English army in the Scottish wars, by a Monk:

"Domino Willielmo de Gretham, Monacho Dunolm', sequenti Regem cum vexillo Sancti Cuthberti in guerra Scocie anno presenti, pro expensis suis a iij die Julij usque xxiv diem Augusti, utroque computato, per liij dies morando in exercitu Regis, ac eciam pro expensis suis per iiij dies sequentes redeundo versus Dunolm' licencia Regis [4] . . . . . £*y*."

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[1] See Plate No. 17. [2] P. 64. [3] P. 67.

[4] Of that banner the following particulars occur among the "Observations" prefixed to the volume, p. liii.: "The banner was fastened to a staff five yards in length. All the pipes of it were of silver to be sliven (slipt) on along the banner-staff, and on the uppermost pipe on the height of it was a little silver cross, and a goodly banner-cloth pertaining to it, and in the midst of the banner-cloth was a

It appears also that the banner of St. John of Beverley was borne in a similar manner by one of the vicars of Beverley College, in the 24th Edw. I.[1], who received eightpence halfpenny per diem as his wages, to carry it after the king; and one penny a day to carry it back; and again in the 29th Edw. I.[2]

Besides the banners which have been described, there is cause to believe that a white banner was borne in the English army in the wars of Scotland, for Sir Arnold Savage, Knt. who died in the 12th Henry IV. 1411, held the manor of Shorne, in Kent, *in capite*, by the service of carrying a white banner, or standard, in the king's wars against the Scots:

"Sir Arnaldus Savage, Miles. Schorne maner' extent' tent' de domino Rege in capite per servicium portandi cum aliis tenentibus domini Regis *vexillum album* versus Scotiam in guerra Regis. Et sunt ibidem divers' reddit' servic' & custum', &c."[3]

The usage of ecclesiastical banners was very common at public

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white velvet, half a yard square every way, and a cross of silver velvet over it, and within the said white velvet was the holy relique wherewith St. Cuthbert covered the chalice when he said mass, and the residue of the banner-cloth was of crimson velvet, embroidered all over with gold and green silk most sumptuously. It was not carried out but on his anniversary, and some other principal festivals, in procession. It was the clerk's office to wait on it in his surplice with a fair red painted staff, having a fork or cleft at the upper end, which cleft was lined with soft silk, having a down under the silk to prevent hurting or bruising the pipes of the banner, which were of silver, to take it down and raise it up again by reason of the weightiness thereof. There were always four men to wait on it, besides the clerk and divers who carried it. This last wore a strong girdle of white leather, to which the banner was fastened by two pieces of the same, having at each of them a socket of horn to put the end of the banner-staff into." —*History and Antiquities of Durham Abbey*, pp. 118—20.

[1] Prynne's *Antiquæ Constitutiones Angliæ*, vol. iii. p. 667.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 910. The following is a copy of one of the records on the subject:—

"Rex dilecto et fideli suo Johanni de Warenna Comiti Surr', Custodi suo regni et terræ Scotiæ salutem—Cum nos ob reverentiam Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco gloriosi Confessoris Christi, concesserimus dilecto clerico nostro Gilberto de Grymmesby, qui vexillum ejusdem Sancti ad nos usque partes Scotiæ detulit, et ibidem de præcepto nostro cum vexillo illo durante guerra nostræ Scotiæ moram fecit, quandam Ecclesiam viginti marcarum vel librarum valorem annuum attingentem, ad nostram donationem spectantem, et in regno Scotiæ prox. vacaturam, vobis mandamus, quod præfato Gileberto de hujus modi Ecclesia in prædicto regno Scocie provideri faciatis quamprimum ad id optulerit se facultas. Teste Rege apud Kirkham, xiij. die Octobris." 24 Edw. I.

[3] *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem.* Vol. iii. p. 334.

ceremonies, though instances of those of any other saints than St. George, St. Edmund, and St. Edward are comparatively rare; and generally, it may be presumed, arose from local customs. Even so late as the reign of Henry the Eighth the banner of St. Cuthbert was, it seems, borne in the field by armies in the north; for, in speaking of the means adopted by the Earl of Surrey, for the defence of the northern parts of the realm, in 1513, Hall says, "The erle harde masse and appoynted with the Prior for saincte Culberd's banner [1]."

Skelton, likewise, in his poem, "How the douty Duke of Albany, lyke a coward knight, ran away shamefully," speaks of that banner; and also of the banner of St. William, being carried in the Lord Admiral's army:

> "Of my lorde Cardinall,
> As an hoost royall,
> After the auncient manner,
> With *sainct Culberdes banner*,
> And sainct William's also [2]."

From what has been stated, it may be concluded that the Banners borne in the English army, in the latter part of the thirteenth and early in the fourteenth century, besides those of the knights and bannerets, were those of the Royal arms, of St. George, of St. Edmund, and of St. Edward; and it will be shown that they continued to be used until the reign of Henry the Sixth, if not to a much more recent period. But it is first necessary to notice two or three other facts on this subject, which are established by the "Siege of Carlaverock." We learn that a pennon hung out by the besieged was the signal for a parley,

> "E qant virent ke plus durer
> Ne porent ne plus endurer
> Pes requiterent li compaignon
> Et bouteront hors une penon"
> Mes celui ki hors le bouta
> Ne scai quels sergaus sagitta
> Parmi la mein iuq en la face."

> And when they saw that they could not hold out any longer, or endure more, the companions requested a parley, and put out a pennon; but he that displayed it was shot with an arrow by I know not what archer, through the hand into the face,

[1] P. 557.

[2] Ed. 1736, p. 78—79. According to the engraving of arms in Drake's History of York, copied from stone over the arches in the west end of that church, St. William's arms were seven lozenges conjoined 3, 3, 1. From the same authority we learn that those attributed to St. Paul were two swords in saltire within a bordure engrailed; to St. Peter, two keys in saltire, within a similar border; to St. Wilfrid three estoils; or, three estoils within a border. The banner of St. Wilfrid, of Rippon, as represented on some ancient seals, was, however, a sort of pennon of three tails, with a saltire in the upper part.

When a castle surrendered, it was usual to place on its battlements the banners of the King, of St. George, of St. Edmund, and St. Edward, together with those of the marshal and constable of the army; as well as of the individual to whose custody it was committed.

" Puis fist le roy porter amont
Sa baniere et la Seint Eymont
La Seint George et la Seint Edwart
Et o celes par droit eswart
La Segrave et la Herefort
Et cele au Seignour de Clifford
A ki li chasteaus fut donnes."

Then the king caused his banner and that of St. Edmond, St. George, and St. Edward to be displayed on high, and with them, by established right, those of Segrave[1] and Hereford[2], and that of the Lord of Clifford to whom the castle was entrusted.

" Siege of Carlaverock."

It is to be observed, that the banners of St. Edmund or St. Edward do not occur in any of the illuminations of the chronicles or other MSS. in the British Museum; and the only proof of their being used so late as the reign of Henry the Fifth, besides the allusion to the former by Lydgate[3], are the statements of contemporary chroniclers. Le Fevre, Seigneur de St. Remy, in his account of the battle of Agincourt informs us, that another religious banner, that of the Trinity, was also borne in the English army on that occasion; and his testimony is particularly deserving of credit, from his repeatedly asserting that he was present and saw what he relates. He says, " Henry had five banners: that is to say, the banner of the Trinity, the banner of St. George, the banner of St. Edward, and the banner of his own arms." This list, however, enumerates but four; but the fifth was in all probability that of St. Edmund, (though which of the two banners ascribed to that saint by Lydgate cannot be determined), for a pair of basins of gold chased in the fashion of roses, pounced with great bosselets, and pawned by Henry the Fifth as security for money lent to him for his expedition into France, are said to have been marked in the middle with the arms of St. George, and round them those of St. Edward and *St. Edmund*, with some others[4]. The banner of the Trinity, we may infer from a painting of the arms of the Trinity in Canterbury cathedral, and which have been thus blazoned, were, " Gules an orle and pall, Argent inscribed with the Trinity in Unity[5]."

[1] Lord Segrave performed the duties of Earl Marshal on the occasion.

[2] The Earl of Hereford was then the Constable.

[3] It is almost superfluous to remark that Lydgate wrote in the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Sixth.

[4] Fœdera, tome ix. p. 286.

[5] Willement's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral.* See Plate No. 18.

Alluding to the siege of Harfleur by Henry the Fifth in September, 1415, Lydgate says,

> " And to the town of Harfleur there he tok the way,
> And mustred his meyne faire before the town,
> And many other lordes, I dar well say,
> With *baners brighte* and many *penoun*."

And when describing the battle of Agincourt, he thus notices the banners borne in the English army—

> " Avaunt baner, withoute lettyng:
> Seynt George before avowe we hyme,
> The *baner of the Trynyte* forth ye bryng,
> And *Seynte Edward baner* at this tyme;
> Over he [the king] seyde, Lady Hevene Quene
> Myn own baner, with hire shall be."

Thus, if Lydgate is to be relied upon, the fifth banner alluded to by St. Remy, instead of being that of St. Edmund, was the banner of the Virgin Mary.

Though upon the surrender of Carlaverock Castle in 1300, we are told that several banners were placed upon its battlements, it is doubtful whether any others were affixed to captured fortresses in the fifteenth century than those of the King and of St. George. An anonymous chronicler who states, that he was present at the surrender of Harfleur in September, 1415, says, " The banners of St. George and the King were fixed upon the gates of the town[1]; but no notice occurs of any other banner being displayed on them.

Perhaps the most satisfactory evidence relative to banners is that which is to be gleaned from the illuminations of contemporary manuscripts. It must be borne in mind that those paintings uniformly present specimens of the costume and manners of the times when they were executed, instead of the periods to which they refer; and as part of the manuscripts in question are not much older than the middle of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the illuminations, although sometimes representing events which occurred as early as the reign of Edward the Third, are to be considered merely as examples of banners and pennons in the middle of the fifteenth century. In all likelihood, however, no great change had taken place, between 1377, when Edward died, and 1461, the last year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, a period of only eighty-four years.

In the illuminations of the MS. of Creton's account of the deposition of Richard the Second, published in the twentieth volume of the " Archæologia" where Richard is represented as conferring the honour of knighthood on several individuals, a banner and a

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[1] *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, p. cxxxi.

pennon are introduced; the former contains the arms of France and England quarterly, and the latter is charged with ostrich feathers. Richard, however, adopted the supposed arms of his patron saint, St. Edward, and bore them per pale with his own: on the monument of Sir Simon Felbrigge, K. G. in Cromer church in Norfolk, who was standard-bearer to that monarch, the knight is pourtrayed with his hands clasped over his breast, having a banner in the bend of his right arm, with the coat of St. Edward impaling those of France and England quarterly [1].

The beautifully illuminated copies of Froissart's Chronicle in the British Museum present much information on the subject. In the drawing of a fleet, with French and English knights under the Duke of Bourbon, proceeding against Barbary [2], in the top of the largest vessel is a man-at-arms, holding a banner of France, modern; and the top itself is painted with the arms of France. Two trumpeters sit in the stern, and a banner of the same arms is suspended to each of the instruments. This custom was a universal one, and many examples might be adduced; but it is perhaps sufficient to state, that in the picture of the proclamation of a truce between England and France, the person reading it is seated on horseback: he is supported on each side by a man who is also mounted; the one on the right holds a trumpet erect over his shoulder, from which flows a banner of the arms of France, modern, whilst to the trumpet of the person on the left hand a similar banner of the arms of England only, "Gules three lions passant gardant Or," is affixed.

At the battle of Agincourt, the Duke of Brabant, who arrived on the field towards the close of the conflict, is said by St. Remy to have taken one of the banners from his trumpeters, and cutting a hole in the middle, made a surcoat of arms of it [3]; and to which circumstance Shakespeare thus alludes:

> "I will a banner from a trumpet take,
> And use it for my haste."

Chaucer, too, notices banners being suspended to trumpets:

> "On every trump hanging a brode bannere
> Of fine tartarium, full richly bete,
> Every trumpet his lordis armes bere [4]."

In the centre of the vessel in the painting just mentioned is a red pennon charged with a gold estoil, and a semee of scrolls: in the prow a small blue pennon is placed; and the sides of the ship are covered with shields of arms, which, it may be supposed,

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[1] Engraved in Anstis's *Order of the Garter*, vol. ii.
[2] Froissart, vol. iv. chap. xviii. Harl. MSS. 4379.
[3] *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, p. ccxviii. note.
[4] Floure and the Leaf, l. 211.

belonged to the individuals on board, though the principal personages are depicted holding them in their hands. All the other ships have blue or red pennons on their masts, and one of them has two banners of France, ancient, with a bend Gules, in the stern: another has two banners similarly placed, Gules a chevron between three - - - Or, the charge being indistinct. Whether this banner was intended to represent any particular personage's arms, or arose from the fancy of the artist, is uncertain: a third vessel carries a banner of the arms of Barre. In another illumination of the expedition of Thomas of Woodstock to assist the Duke of Brittany, three English vessels appear, filled with men-at-arms. The largest has a man holding the banner of St. George in the bow, and a man blowing a trumpet is seated beside him, whilst another trumpeter appears in the stern. The royal banner is borne in the centre of the ship; and, as in other instances, a similar one is suspended to each of the trumpets. In one of the smaller vessels a man-at-arms holds a pennon of St. George, which has a swallow tail; and in the other a banner of St. George and of the royal arms, with a label of five points Argent are introduced: the same arms are depicted on the shield of the chief personage on board the largest ship[1].

The paintings in the copy of Rous's "Roll of the Earls of Warwick" in the British Museum[2], which are generally supposed to have been executed in the fifteenth century, though there are some grounds for considering them the productions of a later period, contain a ship with her sail charged with the arms of Beauchamp and Newburgh quarterly. At her main-mast is a long streamer containing the cross of St. George in the upper part, then a bear and ragged staff, the cognizance of the house of Warwick; and the remainder is covered with ragged staffs. That such was the streamer used on board the earl's ship is fully proved by a bill for the banners, pennons, &c. painted for the Earl of Warwick, in July, 1437, which will be found in a subsequent page.

Whilst alluding to the ensigns borne on board vessels, it may be observed, that on all nobles of the reigns of Edward III., Henry IV., V., and VI., a pennon of St. George, without a swallow tail, appears on the stern of the ship; and on an angel of Edward IV. a banner with the letter E is placed in the stern: on the Rose Real of Henry VI. in the stern of the ship is a banner with a demi-dragon, and in the bow one charged with the letter H. The seal of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, as Lord

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[1] Royal MSS. 18 E. I. Froissart, vol. ii. chap. 50.

[2] Cotton MSS. Julius, E. IV. f. 205. See also f. f. 213. 218.

High Admiral[1] in the reign of Henry the Fifth, is still more deserving of attention. On the mast of the ship is a swallow-tailed pennon, with the cross of St. George in the upper part: in the bow is a much larger swallow-tailed pennon of St. George; and in the stern is a banner, party per pale dancette, which was evidently intended for the ancient coat of Holland, namely, per pale dancette, Or and Gules. The arms of the earl are depicted on the sail; and were it not that one of the illuminations in the MS. which has been cited, has the sail of a ship covered with a representation of the sun, it would be at once considered that sails were never ornamented in that manner.

In the painting in the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries of the voyage of Henry the Eighth from Dover to Calais in 1520, the only banners or pennons which appear are those of St. George, with the exception of one or two of the royal arms. The pennon is swallow-tailed, which still continues to be the form of the regular pendant supplied to His Majesty's ships, though it is now formed of three stripes, blue, white, and red, with the ensign of St. George in the part nearest the staff; but which, however, is seldom used, and a very long narrow streamer with St. George's cross in the upper part, and the remainder either red, or white, or blue, as the colour of the ensign may be, and which depends upon the squadron to which the admiral under whose orders she is placed belongs, is generally borne instead. It has been just noticed, that in one of the illuminations of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the sides, or what is now called the bulwarks of a ship, are covered with shields; and it was probably from the custom of suspending them in that manner that the royal vessel, in the picture of Henry the Eighth's embarkation, has her bulwarks painted with the king's badges, and other heraldic devices.

The only deductions respecting the banners borne at sea to be made from the illuminations referred to, are, that a banner of the royal arms of the country to which the squadron belonged was held by a man at arms, probably the standard-bearer, in the main top of the principal ship; and that the different leaders also displayed their banners in the vessel on board of which they had embarked.

Another illumination of one of the MS. copies of Froissart's Chronicles in the British Museum represents an army besieging a town in Africa, in which the soldiers are drawn up in ranks, with several banners, placed at equal distances, and having a number of men between each. Near a tent a banner of the arms of France, with a label of three points Gules occurs; but the

[1] Engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxvii. p. 549.
[2] See Froissart, vol. iv. chap. 18—20.

only remarkable ensign is a blue pennon charged with the word Ayeamch in gold. In the painting of the re-embarkation of the same army, a vessel is placed close to the shore, with a gang-board for people to go on board of her, upon which a person in gold armour appears: he is preceded by his banner-bearer, and at each end of the vessel a man is blowing a trumpet: to that in the bow the arms of Barre are suspended, and to the other those of France ancient, with a bend Gules, which resemble the charge on the shield of the knight in gold armour. Wherever the king or other personage entitled to have a standard-bearer went, that officer always accompanied his lord with his banner, as appears from several illuminations; especially in that of the meeting of John Ball and Wat Tyler, where King Richard is drawn at a distance from his army, and the royal banner is placed close to him. The rebels are on one occasion depicted with a banner of England and a pennon of St. George, whilst the royal forces have two banners, one of St. George and one of England; but on another, the only standards among Richard's followers are three pennons, two, Gules with a gold dragon, or more probably an animal solely drawn from the artist's imagination; a pennon of St. George; and a red riband, resembling a garter, suspended to a lance.

In the representation of the progress of the Duke of Burgundy, the banner of his arms is borne immediately after him; but he is preceded by two trumpeters, each of whom has a similar banner suspended from his trumpet. At a little distance is a pennon, quarterly of France and Burgundy, with a swallow tail, the upper part being red with gold spots, and the lower part white with blue spots: in the rear is another pennon, merely per fess blue and gold, ornamented with scrolls of gold. The Duke himself holds a baton in his right hand. These pennons were commonly used; for in the painting of the King of France setting out against the Duke of Brittany[1], his Majesty is preceded by a man on horseback bearing a swallow-tailed pennon, the first part France ancient; and each of the tails composed of three stripes—red, white, and green.

At coronations, banners were also used. In the drawing of that of Charles VI. of France[2], a banner of France, ancient, is borne by a man in armour, apparently a knight, on each side of the throne; and in that of the coronation of Henry, son of John king of Castile[3], on the king's left hand are two unarmed men, the one holding a banner of Castile and Leon quarterly, the other a blue pennon, charged with three kings' heads, the banner of the three kings of Cologne; whilst on his majesty's right

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[1] Froissart. [2] Froissart, vol. ii. chap. lx.
[3] Froissart, vol. iv. chap. xxiv.

hand a man, also unarmed, holds a shield with the arms of Castile and Leon; another, a crowned helmet; a third, a sword, &c.

Heralds too, when despatched on missions, appear in the fifteenth century to have carried a banner of their sovereign's arms, an example of which will be found in Villemeu's "Monumens Français Inédit." Banners were likewise placed on tents, of which many instances occur in the illuminations that have been cited, as well as in one in the copy of Rous's "Roll of the Earls of Warwick" in the British Museum[1]; and to which custom Lydgate thus alludes:

> "And there they pyght there tentys a down
> That were embroudyd with armys gay:
> First, the kynges tente with the crown,
> And all othere lordes in good aray."

Other banners besides those which have been mentioned were also borne in the field in the fifteenth century. In the picture of the combat between the people of Ypres and Count Louis, their lord, when the former were defeated by the Bastard of Flanders[2], though the Bastard has only one banner, Or, a lion rampant Sable, the Ypres and Gantois have the following: 1st, Sable, a lion rampant Argent; 2nd, in the rear, Gules, a cross couped Vaire, on a chief Argent a cross couped Gules issuing from the field; and three pennons, 1st, Gules, an animal resembling a dragon, Or; 2nd, Gules; 3d, Sable, the word Ypres Argent. A doubt may, however, be entertained with respect to pennons charged with the name of the country or province to which those who were assembled under it belonged; for it is possible that such pennons were inserted by the artist merely to show the different parties in the field[3]. But, besides national and personal banners, banners of trades or companies were carried in armies at the period under discussion; several instances of which occur in the illuminations of the copies of Froissart in the Museum. On one occasion we find, 1st, a banner Azure a chevron, the upper line of which is invected, between a hammer, trowel, and plumb, Or; 2nd, Or, a similar chevron between an axe and two pair of compasses; 3rd, Azure, a pair of shears open, Or; and in the painting of the battle between Philip d'Artevel and the Flemings and the king of France, banners charged with boots and shoes, drinking vessels, &c. occur[4].

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[1] Cottonian MSS., Julius, E. iv. f. 219.

[2] Froissart, vol. ii. chap. xxxvii.—xl.

[3] Paillot, in his *Vrai et Parfaite Science des Armories*, gives an example of a pennon being inscribed with the word Dijon; hence the anticipated objection is perhaps unfounded.

[4] Illumination to the Royal MS. 18, E. i.

Edward the Fourth generally bore a banner with a white rose, for such is the only charge on the banners, whether on staffs, or affixed to trumpets, in the illuminations of the account of his second invasion of England in 1471, lately printed from a MS. in the public library of Ghent[1]; but there can be little doubt that the banner of the royal arms was also used. The standards borne by Henry the Seventh at Bosworth Field are thus described in a contemporary manuscript[2], and by Hall. "With great pompe and triumphe he roade through the cytie to the cathedrale churche of S^t. Paul, wher he offred his iij standardes. In the one was the image of S. George; in the second was a red firye dragon beaten upon white and grene sarcenet; the third was of yelowe tarterne[3], in the which was peinted a donne kowe." These however were, it is almost certain, merely Henry's personal standards, and were borne at Bosworth in addition to the banners of St. George and of his own arms. The red dragon was the ensign of his putative paternal ancestor Cadwallader[4]; and in a former part of this article the statements of some writers, that it was also borne at a very early period, has been alluded to.

The "Rolls of Parliament" contain a few notices of banners which are worthy of observation. In the 11th of Richard the Second, 1388, Robert Earl of Oxford was charged, among other crimes, with having assumed the royal power, by displaying the king's banner[5]; but the most curious is the value of the different banners which belonged to King Henry the Fifth, in the list of his effects.

"Item, iiij Baners ovec j penon de Seint George, les Baners frapez d'or, pris le pece, vj^s viij^d . . . xxxiij^s iiij^d
Item, ij Baners de Tarterin petitez, frapez des arm' du Roy et de Seint Edward, pris le pece ij^s iiij^d . . . x^s
Item, iiij Cxl Pensell des plum' bages du Roy frapez sur boker' noier, pris le pec' j^d ob . . . . . lv^s"[6]

Those pensells were clearly the same kind as those represented in the illumination of Creton's MS. of the deposition of Richard the Second, which have been already mentioned; whilst the account of the banner of St. Edward tends to confirm the statement of St. Remy and Lydgate, that that banner was borne at Agincourt.

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[1] Archæologia, vol. xxi.
[2] Lansdowne MSS. 255. f. 433.
[3] Tartaron, a kind of fine cloth of silk.—Blount's *Glossary*.
[4] See Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, for information relative to these standards, p. 58, et seq.
[5] Vol. iii. p. 236^b.
[6] Rot. Parl. vol. iv. pp. 238, 239.

An interesting account of the price of banners, &c. and their sizes and description, is afforded by a bill of William Seburgh, citizen and painter, of London, dated July, 1437, for the Earl of Warwick[1].

"Ferst, cccc Pencels bete with the Raggide staffe of silver, pris the pece v^{d} . . . . . viij^{li} vj^{s}

Item, iij Baners for Trumpetis bete with dying gold, pris the pece xiij^{s} iiij^{d} . . . . . ij^{li}

Item, for a great Stremour for the Ship of xl yerdis lenghth and viij yerdis in brede, with a grete Bere and Gryfon holding a raggide staffe, poudrid full of raggid staves; and for a grete crosse of S. George, for the lymmying and portraying j^{li} vj^{s} viiij^{d}—j^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Item, a Gyton for the Shippe of viij yerdis long, poudrid full of Raggid staves, for the lymmying and workmanship . ij^{s}

Item, for xviij grete Standards entretailled with the Raggid staffe, pris the pece viij^{d} . . . . . xij^{s}

Item, for xviij Standardis of worsted, entretailled with the Bere and a Cheyne, pris the pece xij^{d} . . . . xviij^{s}

Item, xvj other Standardis of worsted, entertailled with the Raggid staffe, pris the pece xij^{d} . . . v^{s} iiij^{d}

Item, iij Penons of Satin, entreteylled with Ragged staves, for the lymmyng full of raggid staves, price the pece ij^{s} . vj^{s}"

It has been before observed, that the bear and ragged staff was the cognizance of the Earls of Warwick, but the principal fact proved by this bill is, that a standard was of less importance than the banner; a remark which becomes necessary, from the circumstance that the ensign, now termed the standard, and which is only used to describe the flag containing the royal arms, is properly speaking a banner; for anciently the latter alone contained the armorial ensigns, whilst the standard was charged with the badges of an individual. According to a representation of a Standard in an heraldic MS. at least, as early as the reign of Henry the Seventh, in the British Museum [2], it was not quite so deep but very much longer than a banner; and in a similar MS. of the time of Henry the Sixth [3], a gyton has a swallow tail, whilst a pennon is represented as being triangular: that a pennon was occasionally of that form is shown by a drawing of a seal of Ralph Lord Neville in 1386 [4], on which, to the left of his shield, a triangular pennon occurs, affixed to a lance, and charged with his arms, a Saltire; and other examples might be adduced.

The office of Banner-Bearer, or as it was called Bannerer [5],

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[1] Antiquities of Warwickshire.
[2] Harleian MSS. 2259, f. 186^{b}.
[3] Harleian MSS. 2259, f. 186.
[4] Cotton MSS. Julius, C. vii. f. 184.—See Plate No. 19.
[5] Rot Parl. vol. v. p. 295^{a}.

was, it will be at once supposed, always one of great honour. In the paintings of armies in MSS. the persons holding the royal or national banners are generally represented in the same kind of armour as the chief leaders. In 1361, Edward the Third granted Sir Guy de Bryan two hundred marks a year for life, for having discreetly borne the king's banner at the siege of Calais, in 1347[1]; and, at the battle of Agincourt, Thomas Strickland, the esquire who bore the banner of St. George, subsequently urged the fact of his having done so as grounds for remuneration from Henry the Sixth[2]. Moreover, Titus Livius, speaking of the disembarkation of the army before Harfleur, in August, 1415, says, that the king intrusted the "standards and banners, and other ensigns, to such men as he knew to be of great strength and prowess[3]. Lord Butler of Sudley, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, obtained a grant of one hundred pounds for the fee of the office of Bannerer, to be taken yearly, during his life, out of the commote of Turkelby, in the county of Anglesea, in North Wales[4]. In France the office of bearer of the Oriflamme was hereditary; and in some other countries the right of carrying the royal standard was conferred only upon persons of distinguished valour and eminent merit. Henry the Eighth, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, appointed Sir Anthony Browne, Knight of the Garter and Master of the Horse, Standard-Bearer of England; and the office of Hereditary Standard-Bearer of Scotland is at this moment vested in Henry Scrymgeour Wedderbourne, Esquire, as heir of the individual upon whom that office was conferred.

We may infer from the poem on the battle of Otterbourne, which is supposed to have been written about the reign of Henry the Sixth, that the banner of an earl was carried by a knight; and there are many causes for believing that the ensigns of eminent chieftains were intrusted to the most favoured, as well as the bravest of their followers.

> "The gentyll Lovelle ther was slayne
> That the Percyes *standerd* bore."

In the same poem it is said,

> "The blodye Harte in the Dowglas armes
> Hys *standere* stode on hye,
> That every man myght full well knowe:
> By syde stode starres thre:

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[1] Calend. Rot. Patent. p. 173. The entry on the Calendar is "Rex concessit Guidoni de Bryan ducentas marcas pro vita eo quod prudenter deferebat vexillum Reg' in quodam conflictu apud Cales."

[2] Fœdera, tome ix. p. 319.

[3] Ed. Hearne, p. 8.

[4] Rot. Parl. vol. v. p. 295.

The white lyon on the Ynglysh parte
Forsoth as I yow sayne,
The lucetts and the cressawnts both
The Skots faught them agayne [1]."

In these passages, and also by Lydgate [2], the word standard is used synonymously with banner, but which was not, it is presumed, strictly correct: the allusion to the crescents was better founded; for on the seal of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, in 1397, he is represented with his shield placed before him, and holding in his left hand a lance with a pennon affixed to it, charged with a crescent [3]. A white lion statant is said, by Bishop Percy, to have been one of the ancient cognizances of the house of Percy; and the "Lucies" were quartered with the arms of Percy in consequence of the settlement of the lands of Maud, heiress of the family of Lucy, on her husband, the Earl of Northumberland, in the 8th Ric. II., a few years before the battle of Otterbourne occurred.

Of the size of banners and pennons, perhaps the following extracts from two MSS. in the British Museum afford the most authentic information which can be found. But these directions referred to, comparatively speaking, a modern period; as neither of the manuscripts is older than the reign of Henry the Eighth.

THE SIZE OF BANNERS, STANDARDS, PENNONS, GUYDHOMES, PENSILLS, AND STREAMERS.

An Emperor's Banner shulde be five foote longe, and of the same breadth.

A Kinges Banner of five foote.

A Princes and a Dukes Banner four foot.

A Marquess, an Erles, a Viscounts, a Barons, and a Bannerets Banner shulde be but three foote square, and so is the old forme.

Some hold that the Banner of a Banneret shulde be but two feet square, and so was the old forme. But nowe because their worshipp and power is increased, they have it of three foote.

The usual Banner for the estates last above-named is elle longe and yard broade.

A Banner serveth for a Knight of the Garter, a Bannerett, a Baron, a Viscount, an Earle, a Marquisse, a Duke, a Prince. Place under a Banner an hundred men.

STANDARDS.—The great standard to be sette before the Kings pavilion or tent, not to be borne in battel, to be of the length of two yards.

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[1] Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry.*

[2] See ante.

[3] A drawing of this seal occurs in the Cottonian MS. Julius, C. vii.

The Kings Standard to be borne, to be of the length of eight or nine yardes.

The Dukes Standard to be borne, to be slitte at the ende and seven yardes longe.

The Erles Standard six yards longe.

The Barons Standard five yards longe.

The Bannerets Standard four yards and a halfe longe.

The Knightes Standarde four yardes longe.

And every Standard and Guydhome to have in the chiefe the Crosse of St. George, to be slitte at the ende, and to conteyne the crest or supporter, with the poesy, worde, and devise of the owner.

Place under the Standard an hundred men.

Pennon.—A pennon must be two and a halfe yardes longe, made rounde at the ende, and conteyneth the armes of the owner, and serveth for the conduct of an hundred men.

Every knight may have his pennon, if he be chiefe captaine, and in itt sett his armes; and if he be made a Banneret by the King or the Lieutenant, shall make a slitte in the end of the pennon, and the heraldes shall raze it owte[1]; and when a Knight is made a Bannerett, the heraldes shall bringe him to his tente, and receive for their fees three pounds, eleven shillings, and fourpence, for every bachelor knight, and the trumpettes twenty shillings.

Note that an Esquire shall not have his arms displayed in the field, but hee may weare his cote.

Guydon.—A Guydhome must be two yards and a halfe, or three yardes longe, and therin shall no armes be putt, but only the mans crest cognizance and devyce, and from that, from his standard and streamer a man may flee, but not from his banner or pennon bearinge his armes.

Place under the Guydhome fifty men, by the conduct of an esquire or a gentleman.

Pencells.—Pencills[2] or Flagges for horsemen must be a yarde and a halfe longe with the crosse of St. George, the creast, or worde.

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[1] This assertion is probably erroneous, at least in reference to the early periods of English history. The pennon then evidently contained the arms of the banneret instead of the knight. See page 95, ante.

[2] Dr. Meyrick, whose researches and intelligence entitle his remarks to the utmost respect, observes, "The Pensell or Pennoncelle was the diminutive of the pennon, being a long narrow flag, on which was the cognizance or 'avowrye' of the warrior on the end of a lance. Such a one may be seen in the sixth illumination of Rous's MS. The superstition of the age directed that the figure of 'Saynt George, or of our Lady,' should be depicted towards its point 'to blisse him with as he goth towards the felde, and in the felde.' In the illumination referred to, the order is reversed, the cross of St. George being next the staff, while the cognizance is repeated towards the point." "This flag was not continued in the hand of the combatant when the fight began, but was then generally held by an attendant, or put up by the

STREAMER.—A streamer shall stand in the toppe of a shippe, or in the forecastle, and therein be putt no armes, but a mans conceit or device, and may be of the lengthe of twenty, thirty, forty, or sixty yardes, and it is slitte as well as a guydhome or standarde, and that may a gentleman or any other have or beare.

It is used to make the breadth of a banner less than the length; but there is no rule that holdeth therewith[1].

THE SIZE OF STANDARDS, BANNERS, AND GUYDONS, BANNERELLS AND PENNONS, SETT DOWNE BY THE CONSTABLE AND MARSHALL.

The Standard to be sett before the Kings pavillion or tente, and not to be borne in battayle, to be in lengthe eleven yards.

The Kinges Standard to be borne, in lengthe eight or nine yards.

A Dukes Standard to be borne, and to be in lengthe seven yards di'.

A Marquesse Standard to be in length six yards di'.

An Earles Standard to be in lengthe six yards.

A Viscounts Standard to be in length five yards di'.

A Barons Standard to be in length five yards.

A Banneretts Standard to be in lengthe four yards di'.

A Knights Standard to be in length four yards.

Everie Standard and Guydon to have in the cheife the crosse of St. George, the beast or crest with his devyse and word, and to be slitt at the end.

A Guidon to be in lengthe two yards and a half, or three.

A Pennon of Armes round att the end, and to be in length two yardes.

The Kinges Banner to be in lengthe two yards di', and in bredthe two yards.

A Banner of a Knight of the Garter to be sett up at Wyndeser, two yardes, slete two yards, and one yard and three quarters broade.

A Banneroll to be in length one ell, in breath one yard[2]."

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tent pitched on the owner's side of the lists." *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 508. In the description of Banners, &c. in the text, the charges on the Pencils are said to contain the cross of St. George and the crest or motto of the bearer; and it is also to be observed, that in none of the illuminations referred to in this article are Pennons or Pensills to be found charged in the manner stated by Dr. Meyrick on the authority of Rous. Those mentioned by that accurate antiquary were probably solely used at jousts or tournaments. *Avowry* meant an individual's tutelar or protecting saint. Sir Thomas Wyndham says, in his will, in 1521, "and specially to myn accustomed *advourrys* I call and crye, St. John Evangelist, St. George, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Margaret, St. Katherine, and St. Barbara, humbly beseche ym," &c. *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 581; and Thomas Trethurffe bequeaths in 1528, "to St. Martin his *avowre*," &c. *Ibid.* p. 644. If Sir Thomas Wyndham honoured all his *avowries* by introducing the picture of each of them on his pensell, there could be little room for any other charge.

[1] Harleian MSS. 2358. [2] Lansdowne MSS. 255, f. 431.

XUM

Such facts having been stated as an attentive examination of the most likely sources of information present on the usage of Banners in the field and navy from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, this paper will be concluded by a short notice of the banners carried at funerals in the same period.

They usually consisted of banners of the arms of the individual and of the families to which he was allied; but upon some occasions ecclesiastical banners were displayed. In 1388, John Lord Montacute, brother of the Earl of Salisbury, ordered in his will that no painting should be placed about his hearse, excepting one banner of the arms of England, two charged with those of Montacute, and two with the arms of Monthermer [1]. The cause of his selecting a banner of the arms of England merits more attention than at first sight it would appear to deserve, because it strongly corroborates an opinion which the arms on a curious coffer [2], that originally belonged to Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, who died about 1377, and an examination of numerous early seals, has produced; namely, that it was customary in the fourteenth century for those who were either descended from, or nearly connected by marriage to, the royal family, to use the royal arms on the same seal, or in some other way in conjunction with their own. Lord Montacute's alliance to the blood royal was through his wife Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Baron Monthermer, whose mother was Joan Plantagenet, Countess of Hereford and Gloucester, daughter of king Edward the First. Guichard d'Angle, Earl of Huntingdon, in 1380; and Isabel, Countess of Suffolk, in 1416, forbad any banners to be borne at their funerals [3]: but Richard, Earl of Salisbury, in 1458, ordered, that at his interment "there be banners, standards, and other accoutrements, according as was usual for a person of his degree [4]." At the ceremony of exposing the body of Richard the Second in St. Paul's cathedral, in March, 1400, four banners were affixed to the carriage or bier that supported it; of which two contained the arms of St. George, and the other two the arms of St. Edward the Confessor [5]. In 1542, Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Grafton, desired that four banners should be carried at his funeral, one of the Trinity, one of the Annunciation of our Lady, one of

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[1] *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i. p. 124.

[2] Now in the possession of George Pocock, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn Fields.

[3] *Testamenta Vetusta*, pp. 109. 194. [4] *Ibid.* p. 287.

[5] *MS. Ambassades*, p. 168. Quoted in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 221, note *r*. It is deserving of remark, that in the representation of this scene in an illumination in a copy of Froissart in the Harleian MSS. 4380, escutcheons of his arms, surmounted by the crown, appear affixed to long flambeaux round the hearse.

St. John the Evangelist, and one of St. Anthony [1]; and Sir David Owen, who died in the same year, ordered by his will, dated in 1529, that his body should be buried "after the degree of a banneret," that is, "with helmet and sword, his coat armour, his banner, his standard, his pendant, and set over a banner of the Holy Trinity, one of our Lady, and another of St. George, borne after the order of a man of his degree; and that the same should be placed over his tomb in the priory of Essebourne [2]."

During the reigns of Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth, and in still more recent times, equal if not greater care was observed that the proper banners, &c. should be carried at the funerals of persons of rank; and it was not until about the period of the Revolution that the custom of having these marks of honour superintended by an Officer at Arms, fell into comparative desuetude. Indeed, so completely is this subject now neglected, that at the funeral of the heir presumptive to the throne, a few months since, the banners and other armorial ensigns borne at the ceremony were incorrect, if not absurd; and the laws of arms were violated in a manner which betrayed the most consummate ignorance: the natural consequence, however, of intrusting the arrangement of them to a clerk in the Lord Chamberlain's department. As these anomalies were fully exposed in a periodical publication a few weeks afterwards, it is not necessary to do more than allude to the circumstance [3].

The preceding remarks have been extended to a much greater length than was expected; but, as was observed at the commencement, it is not pretended that they contain all which can be said on the subject. Many other sources of information than those which have been consulted probably exist, though it has not occurred to the writer to refer to them. This essay must, moreover, possess all the imperfections which necessarily attend a first effort to throw light upon an obscure, though interesting object of historical inquiry; but those who are most competent to judge of the difficulty of collecting scattered facts, and the time, labour, and research which such investigations consume, will applaud the little which is done, rather than complain that all which could be wished has not been effected.

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[1] *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 695.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 700.
[3] *The Naval and Military Magazine*, No. I.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

Of the immense number of Original Letters that exist in public and private libraries, there are many which, though of great interest, are either of too isolated a nature to have been used by historians and biographers, or have escaped their attention: nor have many of them yet found a place in collections of similar documents. To print the most valuable of such as are inedited, with illustrative notes, forms one part of our plan; and if we are sometimes mistaken in the belief that an article given in our pages is for the first time published, we must hope for that indulgence which those who are best acquainted with the extreme difficulty of ascertaining whether a particular letter has been before published will be the most ready to bestow. In some cases, however, articles of this kind, if of importance, will be purposely introduced from printed books; because numerous royal and other letters have from time to time been added in appendixes to volumes of a nature so wholly unconnected with the objects to which they relate, that they are no less unknown than if they had remained in manuscript; as an example of which the practice of the indefatigable Hearne may be cited. Thus, it is our intention to bring interesting documents to the notice of the public wherever they may be found; and although those which are inedited will be preferred, we shall not confine ourselves to MSS., when they occur in publications where they would never be sought. This remark applies merely to detached letters; for "Collections" of them will be reviewed from time to time among the criticisms of other works of a retrospective nature.

The following letters are, it is believed, for the first time published; and each is of some interest. The first is from King Edward the Third, to William le Zouche, Archbishop of York, dated the 30th of July, 1346, informing him of his progress from the time of his landing in Normandy; and of the capture of Caen.

The invasion of France on that occasion is so well known to every historical reader, that it is not requisite to say much in illustration of the king's letter, which is chiefly valuable from its presenting a more detailed and accurate account of his proceedings than occurs in Froissart, or any other chronicler of the period, with the exception of Robert de Avesbury. In that writer's "Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi Tertii," he has inserted a very curious letter relating to the same events; and of which a translation is here given, because it singularly corroborates his majesty's statements, and minutely describes many circumstances which are either passed over or merely alluded to in the royal

despatch. Edward's letter has been taken from a copy of the "Chronicle of Lanercost," in the British Museum, where it is prefaced by the following words: "In the month of July, 1346, Edward, the famous and illustrious king of England, undertook an expedition against the king of France, to recover his inheritance, due to him in right of his grandfather and uncle, and embarked at Portsmouth with a thousand five hundred ships, and a great multitude of fighting men. On the twelfth day of the same month he disembarked at Hogges, in Normandy, from which he went to the city of Caen, and having killed and taken a great multitude of knights and men-at-arms, he plundered it to the bare walls;" and in the margin the chronicler adds, "the king's expedition is described in this letter." Froissart informs us, that Edward's army consisted of 4,000 men-at-arms, and 10,000 archers, besides the Welsh and Irish, who served on foot: he states that the king intended to land in Gascony; but, as the wind became adverse, he was persuaded by Sir Godfrey Harcourt to steer for Normandy. A few remarks from Froissart are inserted as notes to the letter which is translated from Robert de Avesbury; hence, it will only be observed, that on the 26th of the following August, Edward gained the battle of Cressy.

There are, it is presumed, other copies of his majesty's letter relative to the capture of Caen extant; and many instances occur of despatches being sent to bishops, as well as to the mayor of London, from Edward the Third, and the Black Prince, with accounts of the success of their forces[1]. The letter in Robert de Avesbury's "Historia" is very interesting, from the comparison which the writer draws between the different towns he mentions and those in England; from the account of Caen; and of the ships which were taken by the English fleet. The original is in French, and was reprinted by Mr. Johnes; but the translation here given has been compared with a contemporary MS. of the "Historia," in the Museum[2]: such words as are of doubtful import, or admit of a different interpretation than that which has been here given to them, are inserted in the notes. In the quarto edition of Johnes's Froissart there is a plate representing the siege of Caen; but it does not appear in what manuscript the illumination from which it was engraved occurs.

King Edward the Third to William le Zouch, Archbishop of York.

Edward par la grace de Dieu Roy Dengleterre et de France et seigneur Dirland, A Lonurable Pere en Dieu W. par la mesme grace

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[1] Archæologia, vol. i. p. 213, and Illustrations of the "Chronicle of London," p. 202.

[2] Harl. MS. 200, fol. 99.

Ercevesqe Deverwyke, Primat Dengleterre, salutz. Pur ceo qe nous savoms bien qe vous orretz volunters bones novelles de nous, vous fesons assavoir qe nous arrivams a la Hoge prest Barfluz le xij. iour de Juyll' darreyn passe ovesqe toutz noz gentz seyns et saufs, loetz en soit Dieux: et illeoqes demurasmes sur le descippere de nos gentz et chivaux, et le vitaler de noz gentz tank' le Marsdi procheyn ensuant, qen iour nous movasmes od n're host devers Valonges, et preims le chastel et la ville; et puys sur n're chymyn fesoms faire le pount de Ove qestoit debruse par noz enemys; et le passams, et preyms le Chastell et la ville de Carentene. Et de illeokes nous tenysmes le droit chymyn devers la vile de Seynt Leo et trovasmes le pount Herbert prest cele vile rumpu pur aver desturbe n're passage; et nous le feismes maintenaunt refaire: et lendemayn preismes la vile; et nous adresceasmes droitment a Caen, sanz nulle iour soiournir del houre qe nous departismes del Hoge tank' a n're venu illeoqes, et mayntenaunt sur nostre herbergere a Caen nos gentz comencerent de doner assaunt a la vile qestoit mout afforce et estuffe de gentz darmes environ Mill' et sis centz, et comunes armes et defensables et eismes de xxx Mill, qe se defenderent moult bien et apertement si qe le melle fuyit trefort et longe durant, mes loietz ensoit Dieux la vile estoit pris par force au derreine, saunz perde de noz gentz. Y furent pris le Count de Eu, Conestable de Fraunce; le Chamberleyne Tankervill', qestoit a la iourne escriez Mareschal' de Fraunce, et des autres Banerettes et Chivalers enveron cent et qaraunt, et des Esquiers de' riches Burges grant foison: et sont mors tou pleyn de nobles Chivalers et gentils hommes, et de communes grant noumbre. Et n're navye qest demurre devers nous ad ars et destrutz tout la couste de la miere de Barfluz iesqes a la fosse de Collevil' prest Caen; et si ount y ars la ville de Chirbrut' et les neefs de la havene; et sount ars de grant neefs, et autres vesseals des enemys, qe par nous qe par noz gentz, C. tu plus. Par qay nous prioms qe vous regraciez Dieu devotement del exploit qe il nous ad issint done, et luy priez assiduelment qe il nous voille doner bone continuauncz; et qe vous escrives a les prelatz et clergee de v're province qils le facent en mesme le maner, et qe vous notyfiez cest chose a n're poeple en voz partiez en confort de eux; et qe vous mettes peinible ment v're diligence de resistere a noz ennemys Descoce en sauete de n're people devers voz parties par totes les voies qe vous purretz, sicome nous asseurons enterement de vous, qare nous avoms ia parmy lassent de totes noz grantez qe se monstrount de boen entre et de une volunte pris certeyn purpose de nous hastier devers n're adversarie en qen part qil soit de iour en autre tank' come purromes et esperoms ferment en Dieu qil nous durra bone et honurable de n're enprise; et qe vous deynz bref orretz bone novelles et plesauntz de nous. Done south n're prive seal a Caen le xxx. iour de Juyl' lan de n're Reigne Dengleterre vyntysme.

[TRANSLATION.]

Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to the Honourable Father in God, W. by the same grace Archbishop of York, Primate of England, health. As we

know well that you are desirous to hear good news of us, we inform you, that we arrived at the Hogue, near Barfleur, the 12th day of July last past, with all our forces well and safe, praise be to God; and remained there to disembark our forces and horses, and the provisions of our forces until the Tuesday next following, on which day we removed with our host towards Valonges, and took the castle and town; and then on our route we rebuilt the bridge of Ove, which was broken by our enemies, and passed it, and took the castle and town of Carentene: and from thence we kept the direct route towards the town of Saint Lo, and found the bridge Herbert, near that town, broken, to prevent our passage, and we caused it to be rebuilt, and the next morning took the town; and we proceeded direct to Caen without stopping one day from the time of our departure from the Hogue until our arrival there; and then on our taking up our quarters at Caen our people began to besiege the town, which was strongly garrisoned, and filled with about one thousand six hundred men at arms, and more than thirty thousand armed commoners, who defended it very well and ably; so that the fight was very severe, and continued long, but, thanks be to God, the town was at last taken by assault, without loss of our people. There were taken, the Count of Eu, Constable of France, the Chamberlain Tankerville, who was for the time styled Marshal of France, and about one hundred and forty other bannerets and knights, and a great number of esquires and rich burgesses; and several nobles, knights, and gentlemen, and a great number of the commons, were slain. And our fleet, which remained near us, to burn and destroy all the sea coast from Barfleur to the "foss" of Coleville[1], near Caen, and have burnt the town of Chirbourgh and the ships in the harbour, and of the enemy's large ships and other vessels above one hundred or more have been burnt either by us or by our people. Therefore, we pray you devoutly to render thanks to God, for the success which he has thus granted us, and earnestly entreat him to give us a good continuance of it; and that you write to the prelates and clergy of your province, that they do the same, and that you signify this circumstance to our people in your neighbourhood to their comfort; and that you laboriously exert yourself to oppose our enemies, the Scots, for the security of our people in your vicinity, by all the means in your power, so that we rely entirely on you: "for, with the consent of all our nobles who evinced a great and unanimous desire that we should do so, we have already resolved[2]" to hasten towards our adversary, wherever he may be, from one day to another as well as we can; and we trust firmly in God that he will protect us well and honourably in our undertaking, and that in a short time you will hear good and agreeable news of us. Given under our Privy Seal, at Caen, the xxxth day of July, in the twentieth year of our reign in England [Anno 1346].

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[1] Colevile is a small port near the entrance of the river Orne.

[2] The translation of this passage is submitted with much diffidence.

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TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER IN ROBERT DE AVESBURY'S "HISTORIA DE MIRABILIBUS GESTIS EDWARDI TERTII."

Be it remembered, that our Lord the King and his Host landed at Hogue de St. Vaal the xiith day of July[1], and remained there until the Tuesday next following[2], to disembark his horses, to rest himself and his men, and to provide provisions[3]. He found at the Hogue eleven ships, of which eight had castles before and behind, the which were burnt. And on the Friday[4], whilst the King remained there, some troops went to Barfleur and expected to have found many people[5], but they saw none; and they found there nine ships with castles before and behind[6], ij good craiers[7], and other smaller vessels; the which were also burnt: and the town was as good and as large a town as the town of Sandwich; and after the said troops were gone, the sailors burnt the town, and many good towns and houses[8] in the neighbourhood were burnt. And the Tuesday that the King left[9] he went to Valoignes[10], and remained there the whole night, and found

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[1] Wednesday.—"When the fleet of England were all safely arrived at la Hogue the king leaped on shore first; but, by accident, he fell, and with such violence that the blood gushed out at his nose. The knights that were near him said, 'Dear Sir, let us entreat you to return to your ship, and not think of landing to-day, for this is an unfortunate omen.' The king instantly replied, 'For why? I look upon it as very favourable, and a sign that the land is desirous of me.'"—Johnes's Froissart, chap. cxx.

[2] July 18th.

[3] Et fourner payn.

[4] July 14th.—This account differs much from Froissart's narrative. After describing how Edward had divided his army, he says, "*Both the armies of sea and land went forward* until they came to a strong town called Barfleur;" and adds, "which they soon gained, the inhabitants having surrendered immediately for fear of losing their lives; but that did not prevent the town from being pillaged and robbed of gold, silver, and every thing precious that could be found therein. There was so much wealth that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur. They made all the townsmen quit the place, and embarked them on board the fleet."—Johnes's Froissart, chap. cxx.

[5] Gentz.

[6] Ove chastiels devant et derere. It is scarcely necessary to state, that the ships of war in the fourteenth century had elevated places in the bow and stern, called castles, which contained the fighting men. "Fore-castle" is still used to describe the fore part of a ship.

[7] A craier, or crayer, was a sort of small ship, but whether for war or merchandize does not exactly appear, but most probably the latter. See Ducange. "Volumus quod centum naves vocatæ Pessoneræ et *Creyeris* et aliæ minutiæ naves," &c.

[8] Manoirs.

[9] July 18th.

[10] Froissart confounds the operations of Edward's fleet with those of the army. It will be seen from the letters in the text, that whilst

sufficient provisions. The next day[1] he proceeded a long journey as far as the bridge of Ov, which those of the town of Carentane had broken down, and the King caused it to be rebuilt the same night, and passed it the next day[2], and proceeded as far as the said town of Carentane, which is not more than about an English league from the said bridge: the which town is as large as Leicester, where he found an abundance of wines and provisions; and much of the town was burnt, notwithstanding all the King could do[3]. And on Friday[4] the King came to and slept in a village[5] on a river[6], which it was difficult to cross[7]; and those of the town of St. Lo broke the bridge, and the King rebuilt it and passed the next day[8], he and his Host, and took up his quarters adjoining the town, and all belonging to the town began to fortify it, and collected many armed men[9] to defend it, who waited for the arrival of the King; and they found in the said town full one thousand tuns of wine and an abundance of other goods; and the town is larger than Lincoln[10]. The next day[11] the King pro-

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the king proceeded by land, the ships plundered the towns on the coast; but that Chronicler says, "They *advanced* until they came to Cherbourg, which they burnt and pillaged in part, but they could not conquer the castle, as it was too strong, and well garrisoned with men-at-arms; they therefore passed on and came before Montebourg, *near* Valongnes, which they pillaged and then set fire to."—Johnes's Froissart, chap. cxx.

[1] Wednesday, July 19th.

[2] Thursday, July 20.—Speaking of Carentane, Froissart says, "Those lords that were on board the fleet then disembarked with their people, and made a vigorous attack upon it," &c. He then states, that the inhabitants opened their gates and submitted to the English; but that the men-at-arms defended the castle for two days and then surrendered it, "their lives and fortunes being saved."

[3] Et fust mult de la ville arz p'r rien qe le Roy purroit faire.

[4] July 21st.

[5] Villes campestres.

[6] "He took up his quarters on the banks of this river," Froissart tells us, "to wait for the return of that part of his army which had been sent along the sea coast;" but it is clear that Edward did so because the bridge over it had been destroyed.

[7] Mal a passer.

[8] Saturday, July 22nd.

[9] Gentz d'armes.

[10] Froissart does not notice any attempt to defend St. Lo; but describes it as containing "much drapery and many wealthy inhabitants; among them you might count eight or nine score that were engaged in commerce." He then says that Edward would not lodge in it for fear of fire; that it was taken by his advanced guard with a trifling loss, who completely plundered it; and that no one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it, nor the number of bales of cloth.—Johnes's Froissart, chap. cxx.

[11] Sunday, July 23rd.

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ceeded on his march, and slept at an abbey, and his Host in the villages[1] around him; and the soldiers of the Host[2] committed inroads all the day, robbing and destroying within about v or vj leagues, and burnt many places. And the Monday[3] the King removed, and took up his quarters in villages[4]; and the Tuesday[5] also: and on Wednesday[6], at the hour of nones[7], he came before the town of Caen, and was informed that a great quantity of armed men[8] were in the town; and the King arrayed his fine and numerous battles[9], and sent some persons to the town to examine it[10], and they found the castle fine and strong, in which were the Bishop of Baions, Knights, and troops[11], who defended it. And towards the river the town is very fine, and very large; and at one end of the town is an Abbey as noble as possible where William the Conqueror lies buried; and it is surrounded by walls and embattled towers[12], large and strong, in which Abbey there was no one. And at the other end of the town, another noble Abbey of ladies; and no one remained in the said Abbeys, nor in the part of the town towards the river as far as the castle; and the inhabitants were in the town on the other side of the river, where the Constable of France and the Chamberlain de Tankerville, who was a very great Lord, and many troops, to the amount of five or six hundred, and the commons of the town, were[13]. And our people of the Host, without permission or order, attacked the bridge, which was well fortified with bretages and walls, and they had much to do, as the French defended the said bridge bravely, and behaved

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[1] Villes campestres.

[2] Et chivacherent les gentz del ost.

[3] July 24th.

[4] Villes campestres.

[5] July 25th.

[6] July 26th.

[7] A houre de none. Roquefort explains "none" to be the ninth hour of the day, i. e. three after noon; and which agrees with the meaning of the English word "nones."

[8] Gentz d'armes.

[9] Et le roy fist arraier ses batailles beals et grosses.

[10] "A la ville des veer," in Johnes's copy, but "a la ville de les veer," in the Harleian MS. 200, f. 99ᵇ.

[11] Gentz.

[12] Tours battaillis.

[13] Froissart's description of the capture of Caen is too long for insertion; nor does it contain any thing very remarkable, excepting that Sir Thomas Holland particularly distinguished himself; that the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the garrets flung upon the English stones, benches, and every missile they could find, by which they killed and wounded, he says, upwards of five hundred of them, which so enraged Edward that he commanded the remainder of the inhabitants to be put to the sword, and the town burnt. At the remonstrance of Sir Godfrey Harcourt, however, he countermanded his orders.

very well until they were taken[1]; and then were taken the said Constable[2] and Chamberlain, and to the amount of one hundred Knights, and one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and forty Esquires, and a great many Knights, Esquires, and other people of the town were killed in the streets, houses, and in gardens; but no one could ascertain how many were persons of consequence[3], because they were so stripped that it was impossible to recognise them; and no Gentleman of ours was slain, excepting an Esquire who was wounded and died two days afterwards. And there were found in the town wines, provisions, and other goods and chattels innumerable, and the town is larger than any town in England excepting London. And when the King quitted La Hogue, he left about two hundred ships, which went to Rothemasse[4], and proceeded and burnt the country two or three leagues in land, and took many goods and brought them to their ships; and then they went to Cherburgh, where was a good town and a strong castle, and a fine and noble abbey, and they burnt the said town and abbey; and all on the sea coast was burnt from Rothemasse as far as Hostrem on the haven of Caen, extending to one hundred and twenty English leagues[5], and the number of ships which were burnt is sixty-one of war, with castles before and behind, and twenty-three craiers, besides other smaller vessels, many laden with from twenty-one to thirty tuns of wine. And the Thursday[6] after the King arrived before Caen, those of the city of Bions[7] offered our Lord the King that they would render to him themselves and their town, and to perform homage to him; but he would not receive them upon any terms whilst it was in their power to do him harm[8].

The next letter is from Robert Lord Willoughby, of Eresby, to his father-in-law Henry Lord Fitz-Hugh, and is what may be termed a domestic letter. It derives its principal claim to attention from the early period in which it was written, and from the rank of the parties to whom it relates. Although it contains no other date than "Tuesday, after the feast of the Nativity," it is certain,

[1] Saunz assent & saunz arraie assaillerent le pount qe fust mult bien afforce des Bretages, et barrer, et avoient mult affeare, et les Fraunceys defenderent le dit pount fortment, et a eaux porteront mult bien devant qil poel estre pris sour eaux. Roquefort explains "Bretages" to be, fortresses, citadels, parapets, strong places, moveable towers of wood to attack and defend places, &c.

[2] Hollingshed asserts, that the Constable was taken by a person named Leigh, ancestor of the family of Leigh of Hanleigh, in Cheshire.

[3] Gentz de bien.

[4] Query—Rouen?

[5] Qamounte a vi xx lieges Engleis; but the writer must have meant "miles," as it is about that distance from Rouen to Cherburgh.

[6] July 27th.

[7] Query—Bayeux?

[8] Query—The original is, "meas il ne lez voleit resceure pour ascuns enchesouns, et tanq' les purreit salver de damage."

from internal evidence, that it was written on Tuesday, the 9th September, 1411; hence, with the exception of a few printed in one of the volumes of Collins's "Peerage," and to which we shall, probably, on some occasion refer, it is, perhaps, one of the earliest family letters now extant. Robert Lord Willoughby was then nearly twenty-six years of age; and, as is evident from the address, had married the daughter of Lord Fitz-Hugh, though Dugdale attributes no other wife to him than Maud, the cousin and heiress of Ralph Lord Cromwell. In the pedigree of Fitz-Hugh, however, that eminent genealogist says, that Lord Fitz-Hugh had a daughter "Joan, wife of Sir Robert Willoughby," a statement which this letter proves to be correct. The indefinite meaning which was formerly attached to the words "father," "mother," "brother," &c. renders it necessary to observe, that William, the son and heir of Henry Lord Fitz-Hugh, is said to have married Margery, the sister of this Lord Willoughby; but independent of the improbability that this connexion should induce him to style Lord-Fitz Hugh "his most honoured father," it must be remembered, that, in 1411, the said William was only about fourteen years old; a fact which, though it does not absolutely negative the possibility of his being then married, makes it extremely unlikely. William Lord Willoughby, the father of the writer of this letter, had two wives; first, Lucy, daughter of Roger Lord Strange, and secondly, Joan, sister and coheiress of Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, and widow of Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, but by her he had no issue, and died on the 4th December, 1409. The duchess, his widow, re-married in the 12th Henry IV. 1410-11, Henry Lord Scrope of Masham, who was appointed Lord Treasurer in the 11th Henry IV., from which dates the year in which this letter was written has been fixed; since he is described in it as "Treasurer of England," and it is manifest that he was not then married, though he was to be so "in all haste."

Robert Lord Willoughby, who thus complains that his property was withheld from him, became one of the most distinguished warriors of his time; and is said by Sir William Dugdale to have served at Harfleur, Agincourt, the siege of Rouen, Vinoil, Mouns, and other battles in France, in the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Sixth. He died on the festival of St. James, 30th Henry VI. 25th July, 1452, leaving by Maud, the cousin and co-heiress of Ralph Lord Cromwell, and who must have been his second wife, (his first, the daughter of Lord Fitz-Hugh, having died, probably without issue, before 1425,) Joan, the wife of Sir Richard Welles, his daughter and heiress, then twenty-seven years old.

The original of this letter is preserved in the Bodleian Library; it is written on a piece of paper $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 5', and the space

occupied by the writing is 10 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$, with the exception of the signature; and was sealed with red wax in the form of a cross, which extends from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

[MS. Dodsworth, 118, f. 53, *Original.*]

A Honnure S^r^ et moun tressoun'aignement bien ame Pier' Henry Fitz Hugh' Seigneur de Ravenswath'.

Honure S^r^. et tressoun'aignement bien ame Pier. Je me comank a vous en taunt com Je say ou plus puisse. Desiraunt toutduz a oier et savoir bones novelx de vous et de v're honurable estat quels ieo prie adieux q' toutz iours sibones soient come vous mesmez sauetz mieulx deviser ou sohaider et come Je vorroie sentier de moy mesmes. Et vous please de savoir honure S^r^. q' iay p'sue a ma treshonuree dame et mier' la duchesse Dev'wyk p^r^ c'tainez chosez q' a moy deussent descender p' voie del heritage et unqore ie nay null' deliv'rance decelts et cett cause moy fate destre absente de vous si longement. Vous enprie q' ne soiez displeasez dautre p't ma d'ce t's honuree dame soy p'pose destre mariez ove le Sire de Scrope Tresorer dengleterre en tout le hast si come jeo suy enfo'mez et p^r^. tant qele ferroit carier lez biens avu'ntdiz hoes du pays tanq' ils furent deliv'ez Jeo suy demo'antz et exspectantz en la pays. Et touchant lez novel^s^ n're S^r^ le y sey p'pose daler vers voz parties si come Jeo suy enfourme. Honure S^r^. si rien soit q' ieo p'ra faire moy voillez c'tifier et ieo lez p'fo'nera de treslee coer a tout mun poair. Autres ne say a vous escrier mes ie prie a n're S^r^. tout puissant vous eit en sa t'sentisme garde et vous ottroie tresbone vie et long' a endure. Escr' a Eresby le Marsdy ap's le fest del nativite n're Dame.

Tout le vre' fitz Rob't de
Wylughby S^r^ de Eresby.

[TRANSLATION.]

To my honoured Lord and most entirely beloved Father, Henry Fitz Hugh, Lord of Ravenswath.

Honoured Lord and right entirely well-beloved Father, I commend me unto you as much as I know how or most can, desiring always to know and hear good news of yourself, and of your honourable estate, which I pray to God may always be as good as you yourself can best devise or wish, and as I should desire to feel myself. And may it please you to know, honoured Lord, that I am claiming from my most honoured lady and mother, the Duchess of York, certain things which ought to have descended to me by right of inheritance, and which have not yet been delivered to me; and this has caused me to be absent so long from you. I entreat that you will not be displeased. On the other hand, my said most honoured lady intends to be married with the Sire de Scrope, Treasurer of England, in all haste, as I am informed; and for as much as she would cause the before-mentioned goods to be conveyed out of the country, until they be delivered I am remaining and waiting in the country. And respecting news, our Lord proposes to proceed toward your parts, as I am informed. Most honoured Lord, if there be any thing that I can do, be pleased to mention it to me, and I will perform it with a will-

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ing heart to the best of my power. Other matters I have not to write to you upon; but I pray our Lord all powerful to have you in his most holy keeping, and grant you happy life, and long to continue.

Written at Eresby, the Tuesday after the Feast of the Nativity of our Lady.

Entirely your son, Robert de
Wylughby Sire de Eresby.

The ensuing letter, though very short, discloses one or two facts connected with a subject of unfading interest—the death of Mary Queen of Scots. The writer was John Wolley, the clerk of the council; and, as the superscription states, it was addressed to the Earl of Leicester. Our readers do not require to be informed, that Queen Elizabeth's conduct with respect to the execution of Mary was a mixture of unrelenting cruelty, despicable cowardice, and flagitious hypocrisy; that whilst it was the dearest wish of her heart to deprive her kinswoman of her existence, she attempted to remove the odium of the act from herself, by endeavouring to induce those to whose custody she was intrusted to assassinate their prisoner; that when she found she could not succeed, she commanded the warrant to be forwarded; and that when she knew it was too late to recall it, asserted that she never intended it should be carried into execution, threw herself into a paroxysm of affected rage and grief, upbraided her counsellors, and first imprisoned and then sacrificed the fortunes of Secretary Davison, one of her most virtuous servants, as a victim to her own fame, and the resentment of the King of Scots. These damning facts in the character of Elizabeth are too well known to require to be dilated on: they have eclipsed the few noble actions of her life, and remain indelible spots on her reputation as a woman and a sovereign; but we learn from this letter the humiliating efforts made by her ministers to appease her fury, and her implacable resolution to overwhelm the unfortunate Davison with the effect of her assumed, or perhaps, real repentance. In his "Apology," that statesman informs us that on the Friday after Mary's execution, namely, on the 10th of February, arriving at the court he learnt the manner in which the queen had expressed herself relative to the event; but being advised by the council to "absent himself for a day or two[1];" and being moreover extremely ill, he left the court and returned to London. Wolsey's communication, if dated on *Sunday*, for the manuscript is so excessively badly written, as to be almost illegible, shows that Elizabeth did not summon her council, and evince her displeasure at their conduct, until Saturday the 13th of February, two

[1] "Apology," *Life of Davison*, p. 248.

days after she was informed of Mary's fate. Davison had been attacked with a stroke of the palsy shortly before; and all he says of his committal is, that he was not sent to the Tower until Tuesday the 14th, on account of his illness, though some days previous, probably on Saturday the 10th, the queen assembled her council. This letter also exhibits a specimen of Leicester's characteristic meanness; for, notwithstanding that he was a party to the act of forwarding the warrant for Mary's death, as his name occurs among those of the council who signed the letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl Marshal, and to the Earl of Kent, both of which were dated on the 3rd February, 1586-7 [1], commanding them to cause it to be put into execution; he took care to withdraw from court before Elizabeth performed the *rôle* which has so justly excited the scorn of posterity. It may also be remarked, as another example of the official duplicity of the period, that Sir Francis Walsingham likewise affected not to have been concerned in the affair of despatching the warrant, as, in his letter to Lord Thirlstone, the secretary to King James, dated at Greenwich, on the 4th March 1586-7, less than a month afterwards, he says, "*Being absent from court* when the late execution of the queen your sovereign's mother happened [2]," though we find that he signed both the letters just mentioned.

[Cottonian MSS. Caligula, C. IX. f. 168. Original.]

TO THE RIGHTE HONORABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORDE THE EARLE OF LEYCESTER ONE OF HER MA^TIES MOSTE HONORABLE PRYVIE COUNCELL.

Ryght Honorable and my most especiall good L. It pleased her M'tye yesterday night to call the L. L. and other of her Counsell before her into her withdrawing chamber, where she rebuked us all excedingly for our concealing from her our proceding in the Queen of Scotts case; but her indignation particularlye lighteth most upon my L. Treasorer and Mr. Davison, who called us togeather and delivered the commission; for she protesteth she gave expresse commandement to the contrarye and therefore hath taken order for the committing of Mr. Secretarye Davison to the tower yf she contenew this morning in the mynd she was yesterday night, albeit we all kneled upon our knees to praye her to the contrarye. I thinke your L. happy to be absent from those broiles, and thought it my dewtye to lett you understand them. And so in haste I humblye take my leave. At the courte this present Sonday, 1586 [3],

Your L. ever most bounden

J. WOLLEY.

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[1] *Life of Davison*, p. 96, and Ellis's *Original Letters*, second series, vol. iii. p. 111.

[2] Sanderson's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 128.

[3] Sunday, 12th February, 1586-7.

I have often times sent unto John your old servant Mr. Norld to pray humbly your L. orders for the ordering of his case: he hath been long in prison and desirith your L. orders for the hearing of his case which it may please your L. to express unto me.

The last letter which will be given in this place chiefly derives interest from its describing a very similar event to one which has lately possessed so much of public attention, the abduction of a young girl from her parents.

LETTER FROM PETER COOKE, RECTOR OF SUTTON UPON DERWENT IN YORKSHIRE, TO HIS SON-IN-LAW MILES DODSON, ESQ. OF KIRKBY OVERBLOWS IN THE SAME COUNTY, RESPECTING THE ABDUCTION OF AN HEIRESS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

[From the original. Communicated by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. S. A.]

Sonne,

I am glad that I sent you worde of the stealing away of the mayd before Mr. Ashton and his wife came unto you. The thinge that I writ was true in substance; and now bicause I have better leysure I will shew you as I have hard of the same busines more particularly.

I was at Yorke the day after the act was done; and beinge at dinner with Sir Robert Askwith, his brother told him of the stealinge away of this mayd and of her cryinge, for he was upon Heworth Moore when they tooke her up, but he could not tell whose daughter she was, nor who stole her. Cominge from theire I mett Mr. Crashaw, and he told me that my daughter was blamed for inticinge of a young mayd into the feilds to that end she might be taken away. I told him, my daughter was at home with her children; neyther wold she take any such ungodly and unlawfull acts in hand. He laughed and said it was Mrs. Dodson that was blamed; and so the bruit went it was my daughter, but, sayth he, I have answered that matter to all those I hard speake of it, that your daughter was of that behaviour she woold not have to doe with any such business: and then streight after, it was knowne to be Mr. Mildred Dodson. And so the talke ceased of her, and your wife was in no blame.

The maid's father was one Spinke who dwelt at Great Driffeild upon the Wold. He was a petty grocer by his trade and kept a shop in Driffeild; but he got his wealth by bargayninge and takinge of tythes to farme. He dyinge havinge children, this daughter's portion came to betwixt five and six hundred pounds. Her mother may make it a great some for she is very rich; but she vowed as I have hard to spend more then they ar all worth but she will have the law against them; and I heare she is a very wilful and obstinate woman. The mayd is but about twelve yeares of age. She was put to schole at Yorke with one Mr. Solomon Daye's wife. Thither Mrs. Mildred resorted, and took acquaintance with a gentleman's daughter whom she never knew, and told her that her father and mother were

well. She wold needes bestow a quart of wine of the mistress; and intreated the mistress, seinge it was about foure of the cloke, that they might goe play, never takinge notice of Spink's daughter. Then she inticed them into the feilds; and then she gave notice to them that were appoynted for the matter, they beinge at Mrs. Davye's, an inn hard by the posterne that goeth to Heworth Moore. In all hast they take horse; and Davye one of the conspiracy gott Richard Dodson's horse: and so he and Miles and the Captain marshall away. Myles seased upon the mayd. At the first she laughed: but when she saw they were in good earnest she cryed extremely out, [and when] she was layd over the horsback, she cryed out "Murder, Murder! Alas! I shall never se my mother." Leonard Swan, my host Wadsworth, and one other offred to stay them. They drew their swords and showted and halowed, that her crying might not be hard. She lost her shoes. And after they had got her from company, they sett her up behind one of them. She twyse or thrice gott from behind him, and then, as I thinke, they bound her. Judge you whether this mayd was stolen agaynst her will or no.

They left the ordinary way by Kexby and came to Elvington, and so by my doore. My sonne Henry and tow of my men were standinge at the doore. They sange: yet notwithstandinge they hard the mayd mourne. The formost man they say was hoded. I suppose she was then past cryinge. After that, they mett my mayds cominge from Kye. One of them asked how I and my wife did: and so they kept on their journey to Goodmadame. Richard Dodson, after he had got an horse brought his sister Mildred behind him: but he went by Kexby; for ther he was inquiring whether any such people had gone that way.

The morow after, the Pursevant was sent with commission to Mr. Sudabie to apprehend them all. He beinge sicke sent his sonne with the Pursevant with other company. At the first, they wold not open the doores: but when they were told they must rayse the town and country, they opened: and the three worthies stode with their swords drawne. When they were told what danger they were in if they did resist, they yelded. They could not see the bridegrome nor the bride. So these thre was caryed to York, and committed to Cutlawes the Pursevant. The next day Mr. Ashton voluntarily went to York to see what was become of them, and there was he committed. And the next day was a warrant sent for the bringinge in of the bridegrome and the bride, and Mrs. Mildred as I suppose. Mr. Ashton writ a letter to his wife, by the name of Mrs. Katharine Fowberye to deliver the bodies of Richard Dodson and .... Spinke. So they came to Yorke upon Sunday about eleven of the cloke. The mayd was delivered to her mother, and so to the schole againe. The mayd beinge asked whether they threatened to kill her or no, she answered, they did not, but they sayd, if she wold not be content and be quiet they wold one of them kill an other. The minister that married them is one Lee, reader at Shipton. He overrunne the Pursevant, and so he is not as yet taken. It is sayd, that ther was a supper provided at Sparow's at Goodmadam for them, and so it is thought he is in some danger. I wish that it were otherwise in

respect of the money that he stands bound to me for. Mr. Ashton, in regard he is a minister and his church must be served, was allowed to departe upon securitie. So likewise Mrs. Mildred, bicause she was a Lincolneshire woman, Sir William Ellis, being of Lincolne tooke bayle of her. The other foure ar in the Castle as I heare. Miles is in hope that Sir Edwin Sands and Sir Myles will procure them ther pardons: but I feare they will have nothinge to doe with such a fowle offense. All the country cryes shame of this act, and expects the rigour of the law to be ministred unto them, that they nede not live in feare of the stealinge away of ther children.

I was at dinner upon Thursday last at Sir Henry Vaghan's, wher were Sir Guy Palmes, Sir George Palmes, Sir John Bouchier, Sir William Acklam, and Sir Richard Darley. A great parte of the talke at dinner was of this bad busines. Sir Guy sayd, by a statute Henrici 7 it was fellony: wherfore I am glad you intend to have nothinge to doe with them.

I have sent you tenn pounds accordinge to your desire. I expect you and my daughter at your day. My wife and I both have a great desire to see her. I pray you send me a wollman to buy my woll, that will pay me before my day.

Thus being now in some haste, with our loves remembered unto you, desiring God to blesse your wife and children, I betake you to God. Sutton upon Darwent this 20 of 7ber 1620.

Yor ever assured lovinge father in law,

PETER COOKE.

FURNITURE IN THE PALACES OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

AMONG the MSS. in the British Museum are two very large volumes, marked No. 1419, A. and B. entitled, "The Seconde Parte of the Inventorye of our late Soveraigne Lorde King Henry the Eighth conteyning his Guarderobes, Housholde Stuffe and other Implementes; made by vertue of a Commyssion undre the Greate Seale of England bearing date at Westminster the 14th daye of Septembre in the firste yere of the reign of our Soveraigne Lord King Edward the Sixte [1547], directed to the Lorde Seynt John, Great Mastre of the Kinges Housholde, President of the Counsaill, and Keaper of the Great Seale; the Lord Russell, Keeper of the Privey Seale; the Erle of Warwicke; and to Sir Walter Mildmay Knight, or to three or two of theym. Which Commyssion in the Boke conteyning the firste parte of the saide Inventorye at length is conteyned. All whiche Goodes, Cattalles, and Stuffe were examyned by the Commyssioners at sundrie tymes and seasons in the saide firste yeare of the Kinges Majesties reign; as by dyvers perticuler and rough

bokes, uppon whiche this hole and entier boke is made, appereth."

It will at once be inferred by those who know the extremely minute manner in which such Inventories were then made, that those volumes must contain a curious and interesting account of the furniture and other domestic articles then in use. In selecting the most singular entries for our pages, we shall present valuable illustrations, not merely of the furniture of the royal apartments, but, occasionally, of the state of the arts, the personal amusements and occupations, as well as of the luxuries of the age. Nor is the information thus afforded of interest to the antiquary alone: the general reader can scarcely fail to be amused with the perusal of an account of the articles which composed Henry the Eighth's toilet, &c. To such entries as are not likely to be generally understood, explanatory notes are added.

In the Tower.

Item, foure cappes with vanes of silver and gilte, engraven with the kinges armes and rooses, for the postes of a beddstede.—f. 22.

Item, a targett of steele with a gonne in it lacking parte of the steele, frengid with grene silke and lyned with grene vellat. *Ibid.*

Item, twoo rounde pannes of iron made six square grate wise, being uppon wheales, to make fyre in [1].—f. 30.

In the kynges privey chamber.

Firste, a brekefaste table of wallnot tree [2].

Item, a rounde table covered with blacke vellat.

Item, a steele glasse [3].

Item, one paier of regalles with the case [4].

Item, one payer of tables of bone and wodde in a case of leather [5].

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[1] Vessels for conveying fire from one apartment to another. The same article occurs in the "Privy Purse expenses of Henry VIII." where we find that the price of two was, in 1531, 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

[2] Walnut wood.

[3] A mirror of polished steel.

[4] A regal is explained in Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i. p. 272, on the authority of William Ayrton, Esq. to be "a small portable organ with one row of pipes: a double regal was also portable, but had two rows of pipes. Mersennus (*Harmonie Universelle*) says, in one place, that the stop *vox humana* took the name of regal; in another, he describes the *Harmonica*, and calls it a regal. There can be no doubt, however, that the above is the correct definition: there is even yet a tuner of regals in the royal household, whose business it is to tune the organs in all the chapels royal."

[5] Backgammon boards. Henry lost considerable sums in gambling, and frequently at "the tables." See his *Privy Purse Expenses*, pp. 48. 81. 272. 273.

XUM

In the closet next that chambre.

Firste, vij rackettes for the tennys.
Itm. a boxe of leather full of painted antiques.
Itm. a boxe covered with vellat wheren were pictures of nodle-worke.
Itm. a litle boxe of leather with table men [1].
Itm. two poyses of tynne [2].
Itm. a boxe of woodde with vj hawkes whoodes embrawdered.
Itm. a woodden boxe with xxx haukes whoddes [3] of dyvers sortes, xij payer of hawkes belles smalle and greate, and a fawconers glove.
Itm. a deske covered with printers leather [4] furnysshed with boxes with counters of tynne [5], and having a paire of syssorres, a payer of compas, a penne knyfe, and a poyntell [6] cased in metall.
Itm. an other like deske furnysshed with boxes withoute counters, with a penne knyfe, and a payer of sisorres.
Itm. an other like deske with a paier of sisorres a penknyfe with boxes without counters.
Itm. an other like standishe with boxes not furnished.
Itm. a square coffre covered with leather having in yt lxxij hawkes whodes, iij lewres, and viij papers with hawkes belles.
Itm. a standisshe covered with purple vellatt furnysshed with iij boxes and with counters all of metall, with a penne knyfe.
Itm. a buckler of steele painted in a case of leather.
Itm. a pair of gilte spurres.
Itm. two here brusshes.
Itm. two glasses paynted.
Itm. two baggs with table men and chesse men.
Itm. a stocke bagge with divers lether purses having in theym peces of —ure [query wire] of gold and silver.
Itm. an olde tassell of crymson silke.
Itm. an instrument of tynne for water.
Itm. two stone bowes of ewe [7].
Itm. a leather bagge with instrumentes of bone, and a crosse bowe rope.
Itm. two poyzers of tynne.

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[1] Backgammon men. See last page, note [5].
[2] Probably tin scales.
[3] Two dozen hawks' hoods cost in September, 1531, 6*s.* 8*d.*; and 13*s.* 6*d.* were given for a dozen of gilt bells for hawks.—*Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 159.
[4] The term, "printers' leather," tends perhaps to show that printers were then also bookbinders, though the latter term often occurs. See p. 189, *ibid.*
[5] Probably a pencil.
[6] *Query*, Counters for cards.
[7] Bows for shooting stones.

Itm. a payer of tables of bone with chestmen belonging to the same.
Itm. a case of leather with lyames[1] of Carlisle making.
Itm. a long case for plattes[2] covered with vellat.
Itm. a paier of beades of bone.
Itm. a little folding table with a glasse and an ymage.
Itm. lxv lyames and collors of dyvers sortes.
Itm. xviij lures enbrawdered, and xvj other lures playne.
Itm. a combe case of white bone, unfurnished.
Itm. twoo Combe cases of woodd, unfurnyshed.
Itm. a Diall of bone.
Itm. two boxes with the picture of the frenche King and the ffrenche Quene.
Itm. lx hawkes whoddes embrawdered hanging uppon the walle.
Itm. dyvers candells and peces of candells of waxe, whereof three be paynted and gilte.
Itm. foure olde banners clothes of silke, and an olde pece of a cusshion of clothe of golde, and a Cassak of crymsen and grene silke.
Itm. a smalle cheste of white bone.—f. 54 to 56.

In the kinges withdrawing chambre.

Firste one faire instrument being regalles and virgynalles[3].
Itm. a hanging clocke[4] closed in glasse with plomettes of leade and metalle belonging to the same.
Itm. a greate writing table of Slatte.
Itm. a table with the king's picture and other pictures.
Itm. a skrene of wycker.
Itm. a plate of latten[5] for a candlesticke in th' entree.
Itm. twoo Cuppbordes with ambries[6], ij tabells with trestells, one forme and one stoole.

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[1] A leash or string to lead a hound. It may be inferred from this entry that Carlisle was celebrated for the manufacture of them.

[2] Plans of places or towns. See a long note to the *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 343.

[3] For "Regalles" see a former note. Virginals is thus explained in the volume whence that note was copied: "The Virginal was that which afterwards took the name of spinnet, and differed from it only in shape. The spinnet was triangular, the virginal oblong, like our small piano fortes." Two pairs in one coffer, with four stops, cost, in April, 1530, 3*l.*; and at the same time the price of a little pair was 20*s.*—*Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 37.

[4] Henry the Eighth indulged to profusion in the purchase of clocks; and numerous entries occur relative to them in the work just cited.

[5] Upon the precise meaning of Laten or Laton our best Antiquarians are divided. It is generally supposed to be brass: a long note on the word will be found in the *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 333.

[6] Ambries were a kind of recess in cupboards for the deposit of valuable articles.—*Ibid.*

XUM

In the closet next the bedd chambre.

Firste twoo patternes for bridges[1].
Itm. a square coffer with tilles, having a standishe furnysshed for ynk duste and counters, with a boke conteyning the ymage of both churches, with allso one payer of Sissors, twoo paire of compas, twoo Drawing Irons, and a penne of stele.
Itm. a greate booke called an Herballe.
Itm. twoo greate bibles in latten.
Itm. one booke of Aristotle.
Itm. a massebook covered with black vellvet.
Itm. vj other smalle bookes.
Itm. a great clocke closed in glasse with plometts.
Itm. iij rounde clockes of metalle, whereof twoo be cased in leather.

f. 56.

In the kynges gallery.

First a fayer steele glasse covered with white velvet enbrawdered.
Itm. a payer of virgynalles.
Itm. a table with the picture of the frenche king.

In one chambre within the gallery.

Itm. an ymage caste in metalle.

In the next gallery.

First in a lobby in that Gallery a mappe of England, twoo cheyres and one table, a Cuppborde, and a barbe[2] for a horsse.

[*To be continued.*]

LIBRARY OF THE EARL OF KILDARE, Anno 1526.

An account of early libraries is always an object of interest to literary men; and we shall therefore endeavour, from time to time, to present our readers with a series of such catalogues as are extant. The following is a list of the books belonging to Gerald Fitz Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, ancestor of the present Duke of Leinster. It is copied from the Harleian MS. 3756, which is described as "The Rental of Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Ao. 1518, together with a catalogue of his plate, library, horses, and harness given away, and an obituary of the Geraldys. This is a very large volume, of 226 folios of paper, not all written upon, very old and much damaged. On a leaf of parchment, at the beginning and end,

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[1] Evidently models of bridges.

[2] The complete armour, or rather, in this instance, trappings, for a horse, which appear to have been made either of cloth of gold or silk. —*Ibid.*

is written, 'xxvii April, 1640, I receaved this booke from Mr. R. Dowles,' and under the former are the arms of John, Duke of Newcastle, &c. from whom many of the MSS. came." The rental of the Earl, his plate, and the notices of his horses and harness given away, are not sufficiently curious to be extracted, though the number of horses given to people, of all ranks, from the king to the peasant, is extraordinary. The obituary of the family has, however, been transcribed, from its utility for genealogical purposes.

BOKIS REMAYNING IN THE LYBERARY OF GERALDE FITZ GERALDE, ERLE OF KYLDARE.

The xv. day of Februarij. Ao. Henrici viij^{i}. xvij^{o}.

First, Latin Bokys.—Inprimis Hugo de Vianna sup' librū Mathei; Hugo de Vienna sup' spalteriū; Tria volumina op'is S'cti Anthonij cū tabula; Tria volumina Cronice Anthonini; Quatuo' volūina de Lira; Diallag' S'cti Grigorij; Tabula utilissima sup' Liram; Wirgilius cū glosa; Jacobi locher philomusi poete epigramata; Opus Cornelij Urtelli poete; Virgilius cū quatuo' cōment'; Vocabula Juris; Juvenalis cū glosa; Theodotus cū cōmento; Boecius de cōsolacione Phylosophye; Ortus Sanitat'; Therencius; Faciculus tempor'; Dediu'sitate Avium; Liber cronice in p'gameno; Liber Alixandre *manque;* Ordinale; Sūma Angelica; Caliopin'; Ortus vocabulor' et medulla gramatici; Comentaria Sesaris; Vegesius; Uthopia Mori; Hympni Andree poete; Novem Testamentiū; Cambrenc' de topogralfia; Laurencius valla; Biblia; Cronica Cronicarum.

Yett bokis in the liberary: french bokis.—Scala Cronica in Kyldare; Frossart, iiij volumis; Anguiran, ij volumis; Le illustracions de Gaule et singularites de Troy; Launcelott du Lake, iij volumis; De la terre saincte; Ogier le Danois; Larbre des Bataillis; Ung autre libre en Frauncois, en p'shemyn; Ung p'tie de la Bible; Leis Cronikis de France; Mandevile; Lalace damore de vine; Le brevier des nobles, le catir chosis, en ung volume; Le triumph des dames; Ung liber de farsis; Le legent de towt' Sainct; Leze triumphis de Petrake; Le Geardyn de Plesence; Le Romaūt le la Roise et Mathiolus; Ung abreviacion de la Bible; Le Swonge du Virgier; Ercules; Encheridion; Vincent isstoriall. v. volumis; La j. volume de la Biblia; Saynt Austen de Civite Dei ij volums; Polipominon saint Jerome en parchement; Les Croniques de la grand et petit Bretaine; Le Methemorphoze; Jozaphus de la baittalle Judick; Oraste le ij volume; Le Graunte Boece; Le ij et iij decade de Titus Livius; j Cronike de Fraunce en parchamyn; Les Comentaris de Sesar.

Yet bokis englysh bokis.—Furst, Policronycon; Bockas; Arthur; The Sege of Thebes; The Croniklis of England; Cristian de Pise; Camberens; The Distruccion of Troy; The Sege of Jerusalem; The Enaydos; Charlamayn; The Shep'dis Calender; Gesta Romanor'; Troillus; Caton de senectute et de āicisia; The Ordre of the Gartre; The Kyng of Englondis Answre to Lutter; The Sege of the Roodis; Littilton is Tenors; Sir Thōmas Moore is booke agayns the new opinions that hold agayns Pilgremages; Regimine Sanitatt'; An olde booke of the Croneklys of Englond.

XUM

HEC SUNT NO'IA LIBROR' EXISTEN' IN LIBRARIA GERALDI COMIT' KILDARIE.

Hugo de Vienna sup' iiij^{or} Evang'listas; Tria volumia Cronice Anthonini; Tria volumia op'is Sc'i Anthonij cū glo^{a}; Quatuor p'tes Nich'i de Lyra; Hugo de Vienna sup' spalteriū; Jacobi Locher op'a poete laureati; Opus Cornelij Vitelli poete; Virgilius cū iiij^{or} cōment'; Tabula utilissima sup' Lyra; Juvenalis cū glosa; Theodulus cū cōmento; Dyalagus S'ci Georgij; Boecius de Consolacōe Ph'ie; Virgilius cū glosa; Therencius; Fasciculus tp'um; Liber Cronice in p'gameno; De div'sitate anime; Psalteriū de auratū in p'gamēo; Accidens Portiform'; Lib. Alex'i de auratus; Ordinale; The cronicles of England in frenche; A frenche boke in p'chment; The trye of battails; Parte of the Bible in french; The cronicles of Fraunce in french; Maundvile in French; Lalas d'Amo^{r} de viegne; La brevier dez nobles, le quatre choses toutz cestz au vn lyv'; La tryumph de Damez; A boke of Farss' in French.

ENGLISH.—The Polycronicon; Bocaas the fall of princes; Athur; The siedge of Thebes; The Cronicles of England; The feettis of Armes of chyvalry made by Xp'yn de Pyce; Camb'ens.

IRISH.—Saltir Casshill; Saint Beraghans boke; Anothir boke wherein is the begynnyng of the cronicles of Irland; The birth of Criste; Saint Kateryns lif; Saint Jacob is passion; Saint George is passion; The spech of Oyncheaghis; Saint Feghyn is lif; Saint Fynyan is lif; Brislagh my Moregh'; Coucullyns act'; The monk of Egipt lif; Foilfylm'ey, The vij sag'; The declaracōn of Gospellis; Saint Bernard' passion; The history of Clanelyre; The leching of Kene is legg; Camb'ens.

THE OBYTIS OF DYV'CE LORDYS AND GENTYLLMEN OF THE GERALDYS.

OBITUS Maricij filii Geraldi q'm prim' venit in Hib'n' nullus post se in Hib'n' constancia fide firmorē relingquens Anno Dñi M°. C°. lxxx°.

Obijt Geraldus filius eiusdem Maricij Just' Hib'n' Anno Dñi M°. CC°. V°.

Obitus Mauricius filius eiusdem Geraldi Just' Hib'n qui fuit fret' minoris ac prim' fundat' fr'm minor' de ꝫeoghill' qui' fuit Just' Hib'n' et const'uxit castrum de Sliggagh & monest'iū ibidem Anno Dñi M°. CC. lvij°.

Obijt Thom's filius dicti Maricij xxviij° die mens' Maij Anno Dñi. . . . . .

Obierūt felicis recordacionis Dñs Johānes filius Thom'e fundat' cōvent. . . Predicator' de Traly; et Dñs Mauricius filius eiusdem Thome in loco . . . vocat' callyn Desmonie Anno Dñi M°. CC. lx°. et sepulti sūt in boriali p'te monasterij de Traly.

Obijt Thomas filius dicti Mauricij Anno Dñi M°. CC. lxxxix°.

Obijt Mauricius filius Thome p'dicti prim' Comes Desmonie et Just' Hib'n' Anno Dñi M°. CCCLV°.

Rycardus de Burgo comes Ulton' fuit capt' p' Joh'em filiū Thome filij Mauricij filij Maurici Anno Dñi M°. CC. lxxxxiiij°.

Obit' dñi Mauricij filij p'dicti Maricij sc'de Comit' Desmonie A° Dñi. . . .

Obijt Geraldus filij primi Maurici t'cius Comes Desmonie A° dñi M°. C. . . . .

Obijt Johānes filius Geraldi quartus Comes Desmonie in Aqua de shure . . . mersus Anno Dñi M°. CCCCj°.

Obijt dñs Thomas filius eiusdem Johānis quinti Comes Desmonie . . . . CCCCXX°.

Obijt Jacob' filius sup'dicti Geraldi vj° Comes Desmonie Anno Dñi. . . . .

Obijt Thom's filius p'dicti Jacobi vij Comes Desmonie et Just' Hib'n' in crastino s'cti Valentini apud de Drogheda p' Joh'em vigmo' Just' de collat' Anno Dñi M°. CCCC°. lxvij°. et sepult' ap[d] fratrū p'dicator' de T[a]h . . . .

Obijt Jacobi filij dicti Thome octav' Comes Desmonie int' fect' apud Rathgely p' q°sdā suos famulatores felo" Anno Dñi M°. CCCC. lxxviij°.

GENEALOGY.

The correction of, or addition to, pedigrees of noble or other distinguished families, is a subject to which some attention will be given; and a small portion of each number will accordingly be devoted to that object. In all cases these statements will be supported by evidence: hence, they will, it is hoped, be valuable memoranda to those who interest themselves in genealogical studies.

Few houses equal, in antiquity or rank, the illustrious family of Vere, Earls of Oxford; but, as in others of far less importance, errors of some consequence occur in the histories given of it both by Dugdale and Collins. The former writer informs us, in his "Baronage," on the authority of the Pipe Rolls, 2 Ric. I., that Alberic, the third Earl, "paid a fine to the king in the 2nd Ric. I. of D marks, for the sister of Walter de Bolebec, to make a wife for his son; and that Robert, his second son, the third Earl, married Isabel, the daughter of *Hugh*, and sister and heiress of Walter de Bolebec, Rot. Pip. 9 John; that she survived her husband; and in the 6th Hen. III. paid a fine to the king, and afterwards re-married Henry de Novant, and died on the morrow of the Purification of our Lady, 29 Hen. III. *i. e.* 1st February, 1245." When treating of the family of Bolebec, he says, that Isabel, daughter and heiress of *Walter* de Bolebec, was nine years old in 1186; that, in the 9th John, 1207, "Robert de Vere, son of Earl Alberic, afterwards Earl of Oxford, gave the king CC marks and three palfreys, for leave to marry her; and in the same year she gave CCC pounds and three palfreys, that she might not be compelled to marry, and that she might enjoy what was in arrear of her own and her *sister's*

inheritance, namely, the wife of Elias de Beauchamp, Rot. Pip. 9 John;" though a few lines before he calls Isabel "the daughter and *heir*" of her father. Sir William does not say who Alberic, second Earl of Oxford, elder brother of Robert, just mentioned, married; but states that he died s. p. in the 16th John, 1214. Collins, following Leland, asserts however, that his wife was Adeliza, daughter of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and that he had by her a daughter and heiress, Margaret, who married Hugh, Earl of Chester[1]. That some of those statements are erroneous, is manifest from the following charter, which has been copied from the original in the British Museum, as it appears from it that *Alberic* de Vere, the *second* Earl, married Isabel, the daughter of *Walter* de Bolebec. Whether she afterwards married her husband's brother and heir, Robert, the third Earl, has not been ascertained. The Earls of Oxford always styled themselves Lords of Bolebec, and enjoyed the lands of that family; but it is possible that though Earl Alberic left no issue, some part, if not the whole, of his wife's lands devolved on his heir. The charter is without date; nor can the period in which it was written be ascertained from the names of the witnesses.

"Albericus de Ver filius Alberici comitis et femina sua Isabel filia Walteri de Bolebech: Omnibus hominibus suis Gallicis et Anglicis. Salutem. Sciatis omnes quod ego et Ysabel de Bolebech uxor mea concessimus Willielmo filio Derinch et heredibus suis terram de hoq' rug' quam predictus Willielmus tenuit de Waltero de Bol' et xv. acras terre," &c. . . . . "Hij sunt testes. Stephanus de Monthamsie; Johannes le Manant; Willielmas fil' Fulc'; Gaufr' Guernon; Guido de Boleb'; Rob. de Seffreiwast; Tosten' Basset; Petro decano de Huch'che; et filio eius; Rad' de Wesdon'; Rad' de Chardrug'; Hug' de la Hauqfert; Willielmus de Heston'; Azon'; Ernald' de Hertrug'; et multi alij [2]."

Sir Lewis Clifford, K. G.—Dugdale, and every other genealogical writer, has stated that this distinguished individual was a younger son of Roger Lord Clifford, who died in the 13th Rich. II. 1389-90, by Maud, the daughter of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; but this could not have been the case. In November, 31 Edw. III. 1357, a Lewis Clifford, who there can be no doubt was the same individual, Donald Asebrig, and Walter Mere, were commanded, under the penalty of for-

[1] Historical Collections, p. 221.

[2] Sealed on white wax, which is surrounded by a bed of red wax. The impression is imperfect; sufficient remains, however, to show that it was the effigy of a man on horseback, holding a shield, but the charge on it cannot be made out. *Ancient Charters* in the British Museum, marked 57. C. 3.

feiting all their goods, to deliver to Thomas de Holland the fortress and town of Cruz, in Normandy [1]; hence, Clifford must have been then at least twenty-one years old, and which calculation presumes that he was born in 1336. Thomas de Clifford, the *eldest* son of the said Roger Lord Clifford, and Maud de Beauchamp, was found to be twenty-six years old, according to Dugdale; but twenty-four, agreeable to a MS. note of the inquisition on Roger Lord Clifford's death, in 1389-90. Thus, the person who has always been considered Sir Lewis's eldest brother, was born in 1363 or 1365, at least twenty-seven years after him. Sir Lewis Clifford was possibly a younger son of Robert Lord Clifford, who died in 18 Edw. III. 1344, though there does not appear to be the least proof of the fact; whilst there is one circumstance which, so far as it goes, must be considered as presumptive evidence to the contrary—namely, that in the inquisition on the death of the said Robert, in the 18th Edw. III., three sons are mentioned: Robert, the eldest, who was then sixteen years old, Roger, and Thomas; but no notice is taken of any other son. The arms attributed to Sir Lewis were, the coat of the Barons Clifford, checky Or, and Azure, with a bend Gules; and he is said to have been the ancestor of the Cliffords of Kent, from whom those of Wiltshire, and the Lords Clifford of Chudleigh, are descended, though the pedigree has been variously deduced. It is presumed, that no positive evidence is extant to connect Sir Lewis Clifford with the baronial line of that name, or to establish the descent of Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, from him; but both points are exceedingly likely. Sir Lewis is stated, by most writers, to have married Eleanor, daughter of John Lord la Warr, and to have had a son William, and a daughter, who became the wife of Sir Philip la Vache, Knight. No inquisition is recorded to have been held on his decease; but his will, which is dated on the 17th September, 1404, and was proved on the 5th of December following, is still preserved. In that document he mentions no other relation, than his daughter and her husband, Sir Philip la Vache, Knight, of whom he thus speaks. "Now first I bequethe to Sire Phylype la Vache Knight, my masse booke and my porhoos; and my book of tribulacion to my daughter hys wyf." He appointed the said la Vache, Sir John Cheyne, and Sir Thomas Clanrow, surveyors of his will, and bequeathed to them the residue of his goods; and nominated John Andrew, John Carleton, Walter Gaytone, and Thomas Barbowe, his executors; and it is most extraordinary, if he had a son then living, or any descendants of a son, that he should have been entirely silent respecting them.

[1] Fœdera, N. E. vol. iii part i. p. 383.

XUM

It is, however, certain, that Sir Lewis Clifford had a son called Lewis, who was living in June, 15 Ric. II. 1390; for among some collections for the pedigree of Clifford, in the Harleian MS. 6111, f. 8. apparently in the hand of Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald, is the following extract:

"Originalia, A°. 15 Ric. II. rot. 14. Lodovicus de Clifford, Chevalier et Lodovicus filius ejus—30 die Junij."

Besides the statements in every pedigree of the family of Clifford of Kent, that it sprung from Sir Lewis Clifford, there are three circumstances which render it extremely probable:

First, the fact that Sir Lewis was connected with Kent; this appears from the following extract, which occurs in the Harleian MS. just cited:

"Originalia, A°. 9 Ric. II. rot. 17. Rex concessit Lodovico de Clifford Militi terciam partem m' de Meere in Com. Kanc' ad terminum vite, 18 Sep'."

Secondly, The use of the baptismal name of *Lewis*. Among the "Ancient Charters," in the British Museum [1], is one of "Alexander Clifford, son of *Lewis* Clifford," relative to the manor of Shorne in Kent, dated on Monday next after the feast of the octaves of the Epiphany, 30 Henry VI., i. e. 17 January, 1452, from which it is manifest that there must have been a *Lewis* Clifford in that family within five years, if not at the very time of Sir Lewis Clifford's decease; and who, it is possible was the knight's son or grandson. The Alexander Clifford who granted the deed which has been just mentioned, died in 1494, and by his will gave several manors to his son *Lewis*. He moreover notices a relation, apparently a nephew, who bore the same baptismal name, *Lewis* Blewet [2].

Thirdly, The resemblance between the arms of the families. The seal to the charter which has been cited, contains, Checky within a bordure; impaling, six lions rampant, the arms of the said Alexander's grandmother, Elizabeth, the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Arnold Savage.

HERALDRY.

To this interesting subject several pages of each number of this work will be devoted; and we hope to present our readers from time to time with some valuable information upon the early usage of armorial bearings, supporters, crests, quarterings, and badges, &c. On this occasion, however, we shall

[1] Marked 48 C. 36. [2] Testamenta Vetusta, p. 418-9.

merely introduce a letter from Sir William Dugdale on a "prescriptive right" to arms, because a great part of the article on banners is of an heraldic nature. Before inserting the letter to which we allude, a few remarks are necessary in explanation of its importance. With the same freedom with which we shall discuss every question that may come before us, we must speak of the present practice of the College of Arms with respect to allowing the right to armorial ensigns; and whilst we are unfortunate enough to question the justice of that practice, we are assured that we shall be credited by its intelligent members for having agitated it with no hostile feelings. On the contrary, we believe that the opinions of some of those Officers on the subject are strictly in unison with our own; and we are convinced that the admission of the principle for which we contend would do more to benefit that institution than any other measure it could adopt. It is known to most of our heraldic readers that the right to armorial bearings is derived in two ways—a descent from a man entitled to them, or a grant from the Kings of Arms. Of the former, the Heralds allow of no other evidence than their own records, which consist either of their Visitations, that commenced in 1530, and ceased in 1687, though of some counties the last were made in 1620; or of Grants. Thus, whatever may be the antiquity of a man's family, or the proofs he may possess that his ancestors used arms, unless they are recorded in the Heralds' College, he must submit to the same process to establish his right as the veriest *parvenu* that has just emerged from a counter. There is at least moral, if not legal, injustice in such a regulation, which those who are acquainted with the manner in which entries were made at the Visitations will at once understand; for absence from the county, caprice, pride, minority, illness, and several other causes, might operate to prevent an obedience being paid to the summons of the visiting Herald. But we contend, that where an individual can show, by indisputable evidence, that his family have borne arms for several centuries, and cases may occur in which such proof can be adduced from a period long before the institution of the Heralds' College itself, he ought to be allowed, as a matter of right, to have those arms *confirmed* to him, and to the descendants of the first ancestor to whom they can be traced. To subject a man so situated to the indignity of receiving a grant of arms; to place him on a level with those who know not the names of their grandfathers; to fix upon armorial bearings which have been borne for centuries the impression of modern manufacture, and perhaps too to "spifficate" them with all the bedaubery of modern invention, is both an injury and an insult. Should he, however, be created a baronet, or receive the first class of the order of the Bath, he has no choice; since, to be eligible to

either he must be entitled to coat armour: and thus, whilst he is honoured by his sovereign, he is dishonoured in his own opinion, by being compelled to undergo the process of being made, according to the statutes of chivalry, a gentleman. We know numerous persons so situated who would willingly have their arms confirmed or registered, but who properly shrink with horror from submitting to the degradation of a modern gift. The opinion which we have long entertained is, that where a man can show that his ancestors have borne arms for a certain number of years, for instance, from the accession of Charles the Second, such usage ought to be held as sufficient proof of his right to them. Being impressed with this conviction, we were much gratified in finding evidence that such was once the practice; and that too under the most distinguished of the heraldic monarchs—Sir William Dugdale. The following letter shows, that about 1668 the College had agreed to consider the usage of arms from the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, *i. e.* for the preceding hundred years, as a prescriptive right to them; a decision founded upon the soundest principles of equity and justice. When, and by what authority, we would venture to ask, was this principle abandoned? Has every Garter king of arms the power to dispense with the existing laws of the College, and to make others? And hence, are the public subjected to the caprice of every temporary occupier of the throne of St. Bennet's Hill? Surely Garter king of arms cannot possess more despotic powers than are vested in the sovereign of the empire; but, be this as it may, it is really desirable that the laws of the College of Arms should be certain and invariable. We mean no disrespect to the present Garter, or to any of his immediate predecessors, when we say that the abandonment of a regulation laid down by such a man as Dugdale reflects as little credit upon their judgment as it was unfair to the community at large; and it appears to us that the public are entitled to be governed by regulations, on this and all other similar subjects, which can neither be altered nor abrogated by the individuals who from time to time may succeed to the supremacy of the Corporation of Heralds. Potentates of every description are, we know, not very likely to adopt suggestions; but we take the liberty of recommending it to the earnest attention of the Kings and other members of the College of Arms, to advocate the true interest of which our pen will ever be cheerfully devoted, to recur again to the practice sanctioned and adopted by Sir William Dugdale; to fix upon a period when the usage of arms shall constitute a prescriptive right in the descendants; and as, in 1668, the preceding hundred years was deemed sufficient, let the right now be held to commence before the accession of Charles the Second; but the most rigid proofs should be re-

quired of such usage. If, however, the arms then borne are notoriously those of another family, whose ensigns are recorded at an earlier date than the claimant can establish them to have been used by his ancestors, a distinction might be adopted in such cases, and which, to avoid disputes, should be always the same; whilst the fee ought not to be a tithe of the expense of a Grant. By this practice we are convinced the funds of the College would be materially benefited; and justice would be rendered to many families who now join the common herd in abusing an institution which, whether from its innate respectability, or the private characters and high literary attainments of a large majority of its members, merits an elevated place in public esteem.

It is singular that this letter is not inserted in Mr. Hampers's recent Collection of Dugdale's Correspondence; but from a note to p. 367, it seems, that the editor unfortunately trusted to the opinion of some friend on its merits, who reported that it and some others, of which we shall give extracts, "were merely on business connected with his heraldic visitations;" he being probably totally ignorant of its great value in illustration of the subject which has induced us to insert it, though it is otherwise of at least equal importance to many which occur in that volume.

[Lansdown MSS. 870.]

TO MR. WILLIAM HORSLEY.

Mr. Horsley,

I did receive your letter, dated May 30th, with that sume of 2*l.* 5*s.* which was from Sir Miles Stapleton, of Weyhill, since which I wrote you by the post to let you know so much as for Mr. Raynes. If I can find anything in our books at the office to justifye the arms you drew with his descent, I will do it; but I have allready perused some books, and can find nothing out; therefore it will be requisite that he do look over his own evidences for some seals of arms, for perhaps it appears in them; *and if so, and that they have used it from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reigne, or about that time, I shall then allowe thereof, for our directions are limiting us so to do, and not a shorter prescription of usage.*

I hear nothing as yet from your brother at Newcastle as to those descents, and the money which he promised to send before the end of this last term. I think I shall not go from hence before to-morrow fortnight.

Having an opportunity and this bearer, I have now sent you a trick of the arms which are entered in my visitation of Yorkshire, wherein you will see which are not yet proved; such other as I shall enter, I shall send you a trick of hereafter.

I pray you present my most hearty service to worthy Sir Thomas

Herbert; here is nothing of consequence to impart to him, otherwise I would have written to him myself; so wishing you good health, I rest

Your affectionate friend,

WILL. DUGDALE.

London, 15 Junii, 1668.

In the same volume is another letter dated, Durham, 15th August, 1666, in which Dugdale begs Horsley to write to him before the commission "leave Newcastle, whereby I may understand the name of the signe at Stokesley, which is the bailiff's house, and at Kilham, Malton, and Beverley, where we are to sit;" and in the next, from Pomfret, 19th September, 1666, he speaks of having borrowed books from Lord Fairfax, with which he intended "to send a special messenger." That messenger conveyed the third letter, of which a copy occurs in the Lansdown MS. before cited, dated at Blyth Hall, near Coleshill, 9th October, 1666, in which he says,

"This letter which I send you here inclosed, came not to my hands till I returned out of the North lately: it is from your neighbour Mr. Kitchell, who, as you will see, charges you with abusing him grossly. I pray you, therefore, for the better vindication of yourself, and so consequently me, that you will discourse the business with Mr. Kitchell, in the presence of my worthy and honored friend Sir Thomas Herbert, that it may appear you have not wronged him, otherwise I shall have a clamour upon me, as well as yourself. If Mr. Kitchell can make it appear that he is of that family unto which the arms are allowed in Kent, upon proof made there, I shall be willing to assigne him a fit difference upon certifying his descent under his hand, and payment of my fee to you for my use."

He then observes, that he intended to be at London on the 24th, but expected to make but a short stay,

"In regard we can have no proper settlement there as formerly, considering our lodgings are destroyed at the Heralds' office by the late woful fire. If you have any occasion to write to me before I write to you from thence, direct your letter to my son, Mr. John Dugdale, at Clarendon-House, for my Lord Chancellor is now fixt there, and it will soon come safe to my hands. When I come to London I intend to lodge at Mr. Ashmole's chamber, over Serjeant Maynard's lodgings, in the Middle Temple-lane. I hope you will desire your son William (to whom I pray you recommend my kind respects) to be very careful and punctual in the takeing notice of the marriages and issue in those descents he shall enter for any of the gentlemen. I presume he will not now erre as he hath formerly done, and be sure to rectify what is deficient in that of Sir Watkinson Payler, and to take notice of those particulars which are exprest in the paper I last delivered to him."

In a postscript, Sir William adds,

" These parcels of descents I now send you are only of those families which are in the North and East Riding, Dr. Johnson taking care for those in the West Riding. You are to take notice, that there is not in the old visitations any particular descent of Metham, of North Cave. Quere: therefore of his descent from Metham, nor is there any thing of Tankard of Bramton: see therefore how he is descended from those of Borrougbrigg. Ellerker of Yolton did enter his descent with me in April last. I believe the Lord Fairfax, of Gilling, will enter his descent if you send to him, for I hear he is a great lover of antiquities."

EARLY ENGLISH POETRY.

It is the plan of the New Series of the " Retrospective Review" to devote a few pages of each number to the publication of *inedited* pieces of English poetry; but on this occasion we are induced slightly to deviate from that intention, because we shall be enabled at the same time to perform another part of our labours, by noticing the proceedings of a literary association. Nor, we flatter ourselves, will either of the objects of our attention be considered undeserving of that of our readers; since all have heard of the unfortunate Charles d'Orleans, the hero both of war and poesy in the fifteenth century; and few of them can be ignorant of the existence of the Roxburghe Club. The name of the duke of Orleans, his bravery, his misfortunes, and his literary taste, are too universally known to require any further observations; but it may be necessary to state that the " Roxburghe Club" is a society of gentlemen, many of whom are " to fame unknown," and whose principal literary pretensions consist of a *soi disant* attachment to early literature and scarce books in its members; the one manifested by an absurd veneration for useless volumes, simply because they cannot be easily procured; and the latter by occasionally reprinting an old author, not, however, with the liberal and honourable view of extending the knowledge of his merits by an impression accessible to the public, but by confining it to the members of the Club, few of whom have the disposition, and still fewer the ability, to make the least practical use of the contents of the precious gift, even, which is but rarely the case, if the article itself be deserving of a higher destiny than to light a fire.

The poetry of Charles d'Orleans was considered to have remained in the original until some of his pieces were beautifully translated in the " London Magazine [1]." It appears, however,

[1] For September, 1823. These elegant translations have been at-

that notwithstanding the poems of a "grandson of France" were not even printed in that country until 1809, they were translated shortly after they were composed; though the MS. which contains the translations, remained till lately unheeded among the treasures of the British Museum[1]. Within the last six months, an opulent member of the Roxburghe Club, Mr. Watson Taylor, has had the good taste to print the MS. in question; though, either from being bound down by the vow which is supposed to be taken on admission into the fraternity, or from a littleness of feeling worthy only of a bookseller, who values books by no other criterion than the Hudibrastic one, that

> "The value of a thing
> Is as much money as 'twill bring;"

the impression is confined to his confrères. By the world, then, the poetry of Charles d'Orleans must still be read in the original; and as the rarity of the contemporary English version will render it a sealed book to the majority of our readers, it is our purpose to present them with some extracts from the originals, the contemporary translations alluded to, and the elegant versions in the "London Magazine." A few words are first necessary on the volume printed by Mr. Watson Taylor. That gentleman has entitled his book, "English Poems by Charles Duke of Orleans:" but there can be little doubt, that not a single line of them was the production of that distinguished individual. It will be seen from our extracts, that they are close, nay, almost literal translations of the French poems; hence, to assign them in their English dress to the duke, and to call them, as Mr. Watson Taylor has done in his preface, "imitations," are unequalled specimens of critical acumen. We have done what we do not believe that gentleman or the person he employed ever took the trouble to do—carefully examined a MS. of selections from Orleans's works in the British Museum[2], among which are three original "Rondels" in English; but they are so decidedly inferior to the translations in the MS. printed by Mr. Watson Taylor, that it is scarcely possible the duke could have been the translator of his own

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tributed, though we know not with what justice, to Mr. Carey, the translator of Dante.

[1] Harleian MS. 682. It would appear, however, that the contents of that volume were parts of a larger collection; for the first poem which occurs in it is only a fragment of the long article which occupies twenty pages in the original in the printed volume, namely, from p. 1 to p. 20. The extract translated is that which occurs in p. 18.

[2] Royal MSS. 16 F. 2.

writings. But our readers shall judge for themselves; first observing that our extracts from the original French are taken from the printed copy.

En songe, souhaid et penser,
Vous voye chacun jour de sepmaine,
Combien qu'estes de moy loingtaine,
Belle très loyaument amée.

Pour ce qu'estes la mieulx parée,
De toute plaisance mondaine:
En songe, souhaid et pensée,
Vous voy chascun jour de sepmaine.

Du tout vous ay m'amour donnée,
Vous en povez estre certaine:
Ma seule Dame souveraine,
De mon las cueur moult desirée,
En songe, souhaid et pensée —p. 208.

Contemporary translation in the Harleian MS. 682.

In thought, in wisshis, and in dremes soft,
God wot how that y se yow nyght and day,
Albe that fer y am from yow away,
Whom that y love as feythfully y ought
This say y me, not yow, that ye are wrought
The most plesaunt that evir yet y say [1];
In thought, in wisshis, and in dremes soft,
God wot how that y se yow nyght and day.
My love is youre, for noon except y nought
Be seid [2], so thinke ye trouthe y to yow say,
But my soul [3] lady are ye to [4] y day
Withouten choyse as of new fangill thought
In thought in wisshis and in dremes soft
God wot how that y se yow nyght and day.—f. 74[b].

Translation in the "London Magazine."

In dream, and wish, and thought, my Love,
I see thee every day;
So doth my heart to meet thee move,
When thou art far away.

For that all worldly joys above
Thou shinest in thy array;
In dream, and wish, and thought, my Love,
I see thee every day.

No care, no hope, no aim I prove,
That is not thine to sway:
O! trust me, while on earth I rove,
Thy motions I obey,
In dream, and wish, and thought, my Love.

[1] saw. [2] Beside. [3] sole. [4] till I die.

J'ay fait l'obseque de Madame
Dedens le moustier amoureux ;
Et le service pour son ame
A chanté penser doloreux :
Maint cierges, de soupirs piteux
Ont esté en son luminaire ;
Aussy j'ay fait la tombe faire,
De regrets tous de larmes paints ;
Et tout en tour moult richement
Est escript : Cy gist [1] vraiement
Le trésor de tous biens mondains.

Dessus elle gist une lame
Faiste d'or et de saffirs bleux :
Car saffir est nommé la jame
De Loyauté et l'or eureux :
Bien luy appartiennent ces deux ;
Car Eur et Loyauté pourtraire
Voulu en la très-débonnaire,
Dieu qui la fist de ses deux mains
Et forma merveilleusement ;
C'estoit a parler plainement,
Le trésor de tous biens mondains.

N'en parlons plus, mon cueur se paine,
Quant il oyt les fais vertueux
D'elle qui estoit sans nul blame,
Comme jurent celles et ceulx
Qui congnoissoient ses conseulx.
Si croy que Dieu l'a voulu traire
Vers luy, pour parer son repaire
De paradis, où sont les saints :
Car c'est d'elle bel parement,
Que l'on nommoit communément
Le trésor de tous biens mondains.

De rien ne servent pleurs ne plains ;
Tous mourrons tart ou briefvement,
Nul ne peust garder longuement
Le trésor de tous biens mondains.—p. 237.

Contemporary translation.

I have the obit of my lady dere
Made in the churche of love full solempnely ;
And for hir sowle the service and prayere,
In thought waylyng, have songe hit hevyly.
The torchis sett of sighis pitously,
Which was with sorowe sett a flame,
The toumbe is made als to the same

[1] "In the MS. in the British Museum, it is Cy gist bravement, which is a better reading."

Of karfull cry depaynted all with teeris,
The which richely is write abowt
That here lo lith, withouten dowt,
The hool tresoure of all worldly blys.

Of gold on hir ther lith an ymage clere,
With safyr blew ysett so inrichely;
For hit is write and seide how the safere
Doth token trouthe, and gold to ben happy;
The which that welbisetteth hir hardily:
For whi, hit was an ewrous [1] trewe madame,
And of goodnes ay flowren may hir name;
For God the which that made hir so, y wys,
To make such oon me thynke a myght ben prowt
For so she was, as right well be she mowt
The hool tresoure of all worldly blys.

O pese, no more, myn hert, astoneth here,
To here me prayse hir vertu so trewly,
Of hir that had no fawt, withouten were [2];
As all the world hit saith as well as y,
The whiche that knewe hir deedis inthorowly.
God hath hir tane, I trowe, for hir good fame,
His hevene the more to joy with sport and game,
The more to plese and comfort his seyntis,
For, certis, well may she comfort a rowt [3],
Noon is the seynt she was here so devout,
The hool tresoure of all worldly blys.

Not vaylith now though y complayne this,
Almost we deye therto, so lete us lowt,
Ffor ay to kepe ther is no wight so stowt
The hool tresoure of all worldly blys.—f. 44[b].

Translation in the "London Magazine."

To make my lady's obsequies
My love a minster wrought,
And in the chantry, service there
Was sung by doleful thought;
The tapers were of burning sighs,
That light and odour gave;
And sorrows, painted o'er with tears,
Enlumined her grave;
And round about, in quaintest guise,
Was carved: "Within this tomb there lies
The fairest thing in mortal eyes."

Above her lieth spread a tomb
Of gold and sapphires blue;
The gold doth show her blessedness,
The sapphires mark her true:

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[1] happy. [2] war, *i. e.* dispute?
[3] a large assemblage of persons.

For blessedness and truth in her
Were livelily portray'd,
When gracious God with both his hands
Her goodly substance made:
He fram'd her in such wond'rous wise,
She was, to speak without disguise,
The fairest thing in mortal eyes.

No more, no more: my heart doth faint
When I the life recall
Of her, who lived so free from taint,
So virtuous deem'd by all:
That in herself was so complete
I think that she was ta'en
By God to deck his paradise,
And with his saints to reign;
For well she doth become the skies,
Whom, while on earth, each one did prize
The fairest thing in mortal eyes.

But nought our tears avail, or cries:
All soon or late in death shall sleep:
Nor living wight long time may keep
The fairest thing in mortal eyes.

But we have not room for another specimen of this kind.

The following are the three English "Rondels," which may safely be attributed to the Duke of Orleans; and which we insert as evidence of our remark, that he was not the translator of his own poetry:

Go forth, my hert, with my lady:
Loke that ye spar no bysines
To serve her with such lolyness,
That ye gette her oftyme prively
That she kepe truly her promes.
Go forth, &c.

I must, as a helis[1] body,
Abyde alone in hevynes;
And ye shal dwell with your mastris
In plaisaunce glad and mery.
Go forth, &c.

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[1] "By *helis body*," the writer in the "London Magazine" says, "I suppose is meant *one deprived of health or happiness*. The word occurs in Chaucer, but with a difference in the spelling and quantity:

——— A wight in torment and in drede
And *healelesse*.

Troilus and Cresside, b. v. fol. 180, ed. 1602."

My hertly love is in your governäs,
And ever shal whill that I live may.
I pray to God I may see that day
That we be knyt with trouthful alyans.
Ye shal not fynd feyning or variauns
As in my part; that wyl I truly say.
My hertly, &c.

Bewere, my trewe innocent hert,
How ye hold with her aliauns,
That somtym with word of plesūns
Desceyved you under covert.
Thynke how the stroke of love comsmert[1]
Without warnyng or deffiauns.
Bewere my, &c.

And ye shall pryvely[2] or appert
See her by me in loves dauns,
With her faire femenyn contenauns
Ye shall never fro her astert[3].
Bewere my, &c.

Before concluding this article, we are tempted to introduce two or three other pieces from the MS. printed by Mr. Watson Taylor.

"Qui la regarde de mes yeux."
Poésies de Charles d'Orleans, p. 52.

Whoso biholdith with mi eye,
Mi verry lady and ful maystres,
In hir he shall se gret larges
Of plesaunt, spryngyng from gret to more goodly.
Hir speche is such, and hir demene trewly,
That hit would bringe any hert unto gladnes,
Whoso biholdith with mi eye
Mi verry lady and ful maystres.
For yong and oold that loketh here wisly
To preysen hir hardily they nevir cesse,
But sayne echon that hit is a goddes,
Which is descended down from heven on hy.
Whoso biholdith, &c.—f. 65^b.

Of the following, the French originals have not been discovered:

O fayre madame, all though that there be noon
That for him silf kan speke so yvil as y,
Yet nevyrtheless, but ye had cause of whi,
Make me not lest of every othir on:

---

[1] "Query, for *can smart*, or *comes smart*."

[2] "*Prive and apert* is in Chaucer, Cant. T. 6696: *In private and in public.* Tyrwhitt's Glossary."

[3] "*Astert.* Chaucer, Cant. T. 1597, 6550. *To escape.* Tyrwhitt's Glossary."

And, al be that y make a rewdisshe mon,
Bithynke my trouth, lete me not dy,
O fayre madame, all though that there be noon
That for him silf kan speke so yvil as y.
For voyde stonde y of hope, save you alon,
Of whiche me seem ye sett but litil by,
Alas! the deth gef that y ben worthi,
Then do me so that y were goon.
O fayre madame, &c.—f. 97.

Madame, y wold bi God alone,
How that my hert were in yowre sleve;
For, in good trouth, ye wol not leve[1]
How fayne he wold fro me bigoon:
So take it now anoon,
For freely him y to yow geve;
Madame, y wold bi God alone,
How that my hert were in youre sleve,
For he and y are comen foon[2],
A doth to me so gret a greef,
That but ye lust me to myschef,
So take him, or sle me, the toon[3].
Madame, y wold, &c.—f. 89.

My gostly fadir, y me confesse
First to God and then to yow,
That at a window, wot ye how,
I stale a cosse[4] of gret swetnes,
Which don was out avisynes;
But hit is doon, not undoon now:
My gostly fadir, y me confesse,
First to God and then to yow.
But y restore it shall dowtless
Ageyn, if so be that y mow[5];
And that God y make a vow,
And ellis y axe forgefnes.
My gostly fadir, &c.—f. 88.

Wherefore, wherfore make three nayes, whi?
Methinke they nede not spoken ben so oft,
If in yoursilf that ye were wele bithought;
What cause se ye to say nay? fy, fy, fy,
Remember yow also, am y not y,
That dare not doon but as ye hav me taught?
Wherfore, wherfore make three nayes, whi?
Methynke they nede not spoken ben so oft.
For and so be that y do ungoodly

---

[1] Believe. [2] Foes. [3] One or the other.
[4] Kiss. [5] May.

As aftirmore, then loke ye love me nought,
And levir nad y ben to lyf ywrought,
But rathir lo yis selven houre to die.
Wherfore, wherfore, &c.—f. 93.

It may perhaps be useful to observe, that the only copy of the "Poésies" of Charles d'Orleans ever published, is a small octavo, printed at Paris in 1809, from a MS. in the library at Grenoble. The Abbé Sallier, in his notice of the duke[1], mentions another MS. of his poems, which came into the Bibliothéque du Roi with many other MSS. of the Comte de Seignelay, grandson of the great Colbert, and which formerly belonged to Katherine de Medicis. He states, that it consists of fifty-two balades, seven complaintes, one hundred and thirty-one chansons, and about four hundred rondels. The printed volume contains only two hundred and nine poems; so that, according to the Abbé's account, it is very imperfect. The splendid MS. of Orleans's works in the British Museum[2] contains only one hundred and fifty-two poems, of which fourteen do not occur in the printed copy; namely, ten in French, three in English, and one in Latin, entitled "Canticum seu Prosa;" whilst the contemporary English translation, in the Harleian Collection[3], consists of two hundred and nine pieces, of which the French originals of only one hundred and twenty appear in the volume printed at Paris. It is most probable, however, that the originals of all the English poems in that manuscript exist in the manuscript in the Bibliothéque du Roi, spoken of by the Abbé Sallier; and it is not a little extraordinary, that a perfect edition of the works of a member of the royal family of France should not long since have appeared, not merely because of his rank, but from the plaintive beauty and poetical merit which characterize so many of his productions. It is important to add, that the contemporary English translations are of considerable value; for, by comparing them with the originals, many obscure words in Chaucer, Lydgate, Gower, and our other early English writers, may be elucidated: hence, we the more lament the feeling which induces an individual, or an association of individuals, rich enough to print a relic of this nature, to confine it to ten or twenty persons. Avarice is at all times contemptible; but literary avarice—the wish to confine knowledge of any kind to a very limited circle; the disposition which makes men hoard up information from the world at large—will, at all times, meet, at our hands, with the exposure and ridicule which such sentiments deserve. Thus it is, that even our great respect for many of the members of the "Roxburghe Club" does not prevent us from censuring the prin-

[1] Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tome xiii. p. 580.
[2] Royal MSS. 16 F. 2.
[3] No. 682.

ciple upon which it was founded and acts. Few objects would be more worthy of praise than a body of literary men joining their purses and talents for the dissemination of valuable neglected literature, by printing impressions accessible to those who are interested in the subject; but the very reverse has hitherto been the conduct of this society of bibliomaniacs. Opportunities are, however, given them of redeeming their character as literary men, by acting in a manner consistent with common sense and the age in which we live; and we therefore hope that, if they ever again print a volume worthy of attention, it will be with more enlarged views: with a more generous object, both towards the author and the public.

There are other MSS. in the British Museum which contain imperfect copies of some of Charles d'Orleans's poems; namely, the Lansdown MS. 380, and the Harleian MS. 6916; but the productions of other writers are introduced among them.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

It must be obvious that a Society incorporated "for the study of Antiquity and the History of former times," must have peculiar and irresistible claims upon the attention of this work; and whatever may be our reluctance to enter upon a subject which almost every other periodical publication has treated with silent contempt, the objects which it professes to have in view, impel us to take it under our especial *surveillance*. We shall, therefore, from time to time, carefully report its proceedings; review its labours; analyze the pretensions of its officers to their situations; and especially state those pre-eminent historical and antiquarian attainments to which such members as may be selected for its council will be indebted for the honour conferred upon them. In a word, we purpose becoming the "Historians of the Society of Antiquaries;" and at the same time that we shall remember that, to give a plain statement of such transactions as may occur will be one part of the duties we have undertaken, we shall bear in mind that it will be no less our province to scrutinize into the motives, and canvass the merits, of every change which may be proposed in its statutes, as well as of every act of its council. In the execution of this task, we shall be guided by no invidious or petty feelings. We, of course, are indifferent alike to the smiles or the frowns of the little senate or its doge; and whilst the humble tribute of our applause will never be wanting when it is deserved, we shall not be deterred from exposing every abuse which exists: nor shall we hesitate to point out

whatever may appear to us likely to conduce to, or detract from, its reputation.

The Society of Antiquaries contains almost every distinguished writer on history and antiquities; and so far it is entitled to, and receives, our respect. But that respect, and, we may with great truth say, the respect of the public, is lessened by the disgraceful system of exclusion which has long marked the conduct of its chief officers, in selecting their own personal friends for the council, and passing over men whose talents are fully appreciated by the world; by the frivolous nature of many of its publications; and by the manner in which it is conducted. We are, however, unwilling to trust ourselves further with the expression of our opinion of the present state of that body; for, as it is our most earnest wish to raise it in the public esteem, we naturally shrink from alluding more fully to the disrepute in which, we lament to say, it is deservedly held. As the zealous friends of the Society; as the admirers of the works, the learning, and the characters, of many of its Fellows; and, still more, as the co-adjutors of those Fellows in the researches by which they have attained a well merited eminence, we would, if it were in our power, adduce the benefits which, as a body, it has rendered to historical and antiquarian literature; and thus not only silence contumelious remarks, but demand universal homage to its services.

Unfortunately, however, we have no such panoply against the scoffs and jeers which are continually bestowed upon the Society of Antiquaries; and, to confess the truth, we are afraid its proceedings have tended to render the name of an antiquary almost synonymous with Bœotian dulness; a dulness, indeed, which has been hitherto equally impenetrable to the remonstrances of wisdom and the sarcasms of wit*. The best passports to public esteem which a literary institution can possess, are the indisputable merits of the individuals placed at its head; the talent and learning manifested in its publications; and the zeal with which it encourages every effort to promote the objects for which it was incorporated. But for what literary merits are the majority of the present officers and council of the Society distinguished? Where are the works which ought to secure respect to it? Where are the proofs that it has illustrated the national annals, or made us acquainted with the manners, the customs, and the characters of our ancestors?

* We allude to a very witty imitation of the proceedings at the meetings of the Society, which appeared in a satirical publication entitled "The Scourge;" and to some very just remarks on the manner in which it was conducted, which have at different times appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, many of which were written by the late Mr. Gough.

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We will not hazard sinking it still lower in estimation, and entailing immortal ridicule upon ourselves, by speaking of the "Archæologia;" for if we were compelled to state the space which, in our opinion, would be required to contain all that is really important in the twenty-one volumes bearing that title, what should we be able to say?

We wish to be understood as professing ourselves the warmest advocates of the Society of Antiquaries; but we are not the advocates of petty intrigue, of shameful neglect, or of a total abandonment of those principles which should regulate it. Our respect is for the Society, as it ought to be, and as we yet hope to see it governed; but we cannot descend to the hypocrisy of affecting to feel any esteem for it as it now exists.

Upon commencing our labours as the historians of that "learned body," we shall lay before our readers a succinct account of its origin, its statutes, and its present state; contrasting its nominal with its real pecuniary resources, with remarks upon their application. But we are fortunately prevented, on the present occasion, from the disagreeable necessity of inquiring into the merits of its officers, or of the literary eminence of the twenty-one Fellows who have been selected from a body of eight hundred, to fill the office of counsellors; because we have no space for a work of supererogation, that task having been too recently performed to be forgotten *. Thus we are not only spared the painful duty of commenting upon individuals who, in every other situation of life, are harmless and respectable, if not useful; but from repeating an exposition which tends so much to the degradation of the literary character of the Society. It is, indeed, to be hoped, that the result of the next election of its officers and council will afford room for no other observations than an admission of the wisdom manifested by its Fellows in their choice; and of congratulation, that they have recovered from their lethargy, and shaken off the yoke of an almost oriental bondage. To that recovery the statements which we shall in the mean time lay before them will, we have no doubt, powerfully tend.

Our readers do not require to be told, that the Society of Antiquaries was not incorporated until the 25th year of George the Second, 1751; nor is it necessary to explain at length the provisions of its charter. The body consists of a President, four Deputies or Vice-Presidents, and an indefinite number of Fellows. Of those Fellows, twenty-one form the council, who, as well as all the officers, are annually elected; that is to say, nine of the preceding council are retained, and twelve others are chosen in the room of those who retire. Power is also given by the charter to appoint so many and such persons as they

* See the "Westminster Review" for April, 1827.

shall think proper to be treasurers, secretaries, clerks, and officers; and also to hire and employ one Serjeant at Mace, and such other servants as may be necessary. The visitors, "with power to compose and redress any differences or abuses, whereby the constitution, progress, improvement, and business thereof may suffer or be hindered," are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the two Principal Secretaries of State. Its present officers are the President, four Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Director, two Secretaries, and Librarian; and the body at large consists of about eight hundred persons. In proceeding to examine the statutes of the Society, we shall only particularly notice those clauses which are remarkable. The first chapter treats "Of the making and repealing of Statutes;" the second, "Of the obligation to be signed by every Fellow;" the third, "Of the payments by the Fellows;" the fourth, "Of the ordinary meetings;" the fifth, "Of the method of voting;" the sixth, "Of the election and admission of Fellows;" the seventh, "Of the election of the President, Council, and officers;" the eighth, "Of the President and Deputy or Vice-Presidents;" the ninth, "Of the Common Seal and Deeds;" the tenth, "Of the Form and Causes of Expulsion;" the eleventh, "Of Benefactors;" the twelfth, "Of Honorary Members;" the thirteenth, "Of the Management of the Estate and Revenues of the Society, and Payments of Money out of the same;" and the fourteenth, "Of the publication of such papers or drawings as have been laid before it." These fourteen "chapters" fill about twelve quarto pages; and the principal parts that require comment are the way in which a man is let into the Society and that in which he may get out. Be he peer or commoner, he must pay eight guineas as his admission fee, and four guineas annually; or he may compound by paying down forty guineas besides his admission fee. He must also be propounded and recommended by three or more Fellows, either upon their personal knowledge or on his being known to the Society by *his works;* and a paper is to be delivered by them to the secretaries, "signed *by themselves* with *their own names*," a rather unnecessary caution against forgery, "specifying the name, addition, profession, and *chief qualifications* of the candidate, and the usual place of his abode, which paper is to be fixed up and remain in the meeting-room at four several ordinary successive meetings before the said candidate shall be put to the ballot, which four meetings shall be exclusive of the day when he is propounded and the day when he is balloted for." So much for commoners: whence it appears, that whether the candidate be a second Camden or a Dugdale, or a man who knows as much of history and antiquities as of the Chaldean language, he must

undergo the ordeal of a six weeks' suspension. But "as persons of high rank and dignity become an honour and advantage to *any* Society; any peer of Great Britain or Ireland, or the eldest sons of such peers, or any of his Majesty's privy council, or judges, of either kingdom, may be propounded by a single member, and put to the ballot for election the same day!"

Thus the veriest dolt on earth, if a nobleman, is to be received into a literary society with a mark of respect which is denied to a man of the highest literary talents. My lord B— is admitted with sycophantic eagerness by a body formed for the purpose of advancing the knowledge of the history and antiquities of our country; whilst a Lingard, a Hallam, a Turner, a Southey, or a Scott, must undergo six weeks' probation. This is too degrading to literature to be discussed with calmness; but even the Royal Society is not free from a similar statute: a reform is however, we believe, meditated in its constitution, and it is impossible that so absurd and contemptible a regulation can be retained. Let this misplaced homage to rank be contrasted for a moment with the conduct of the Institute of France. There are no special clauses for the admission of nobility in its statutes, but it justly considers that a peer derives honour from his admission instead of conferring it. It is reserved for England alone—the first country in Europe in reputation for science and literature, as well as in a nominal independence of the aristocracy—to degrade itself by such dishonourable exceptions in the statutes of their scientific and literary societies in favour of the peerage and persons of elevated rank. These regulations are as preposterous as if an act of parliament were passed to cause every peer, on visiting a commoner, to be brought in on the shoulders of his host, instead of walking up the staircase in the ordinary manner. The mode of getting out of the Society is equally simple; and, extraordinary as it may appear, the nobility have no peculiar privilege. A member either quits voluntarily or is turned out: the former by expressing his wish to retire, and the latter from one of the following causes. From the tenth chapter we learn that

"Besides the causes of expulsion hereinbefore particularly mentioned, if any Fellow of the Society shall contemptuously or contumaciously disobey the statutes or orders of the Society; or shall, by speaking, writing, or printing, publicly defame the Society; or advisedly and maliciously do any thing to the damage and detriment thereof; he shall, in respect thereof, be liable to be expelled the Society."

We have in vain sought for any of the "causes of expulsion hereinbefore particularly mentioned," but the subject is not once noticed in any former part of the statutes; hence the "causes" expressed in the preceding extract are the only

offences for which a member can be dismissed from the Society. The reason of our being so careful to point out this part of the statutes, is the necessity that such of our readers as belong to it should know the penalty which awaits them if they, by "speaking, writing, or printing, publicly defame the Society." It would appear that the difficulty of obtaining admission is not great: no literary reputation, or even the affectation of it, being required; for although the "propounders" certify that the candidate is "well versed in the history and antiquities of this kingdom, and is likely to prove a useful and valuable member," these words mean nothing; and would be as readily applied to a man who could not read as to the most learned antiquary of the day: and that it will receive almost any body is proved by the fact, that from June 1807 to 1827, a period of twenty years, only twenty-one persons have been rejected. Thus it would seem that one per year was refused, upon the same principle that a private road is annually shut up, to prevent the privilege being claimed as a right. Of these twenty-one persons the Society have relented in favour of four, who have since been elected, though one of them had the courage or temerity to subject himself to a third ballot! But that "learned body" is rapidly improving in good nature; for it has admitted every candidate who has offered himself for the last two years; and has, moreover, fully atoned for its previous unkindness to one of the four gentlemen alluded to, by unanimously electing him in the last session. The honorary members are, we are informed in the statutes, to consist of "foreigners of note *or* learning." Rank being the chief recommendation, but in default of it mere learning may pass!

The entire management of the funds of the Society is intrusted to the council; and of the way in which it exercises the trust, it is highly necessary the Fellows should be informed. Upon the president or vice-president taking the chair, the accounts in a bundle are placed before him, who, holding them in his hand, asks, "Is it your pleasure, gentlemen, to confirm these accounts?" The balloting box is handed round, and they are instantly passed without a single individual having opened, much less examined them; and even without a remark being made. Such at least, and we speak positively, was the way in which accounts to the extent of several hundred pounds were allowed on a recent occasion. We shall again have cause to allude to the funds and expenditure: but it is now necessary that we should remind the Fellows that they are not even permitted to see the minutes and accounts of the Society. The senior secretary informed an applicant a few weeks since, that, as "no request had ever been made by any member to inspect and make extracts from the records of the Society, it could not

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be granted without the express order of the council." The body at large are consequently kept in profound ignorance of their affairs, the council being the nominees of the president; whilst, of the manner in which it performs its duty of watching over the expenditure, we have adduced a memorable example; hence, in fact, the whole and uncontrolled management of the Society rests with the secretaries. There is no precedent for inquiry, we are told. We ask then, Are the Fellows to be always excluded from access to the records of the Society to which they belong? Are these records kept only for the perusal of the president and his friends? Are the eight hundred members to go on for ever paying four guineas per annum without the possibility of knowing how they are expended? or, Are the Fellows destitute of understanding and spirit, to tolerate such conduct? That the officers have no right to prevent the members from having free access to those records we are fully prepared to argue; but we must postpone the subject until our next number, having, we hope, said enough to excite the attention of the independent members to the abuses which exist. We have, however, only had space to touch upon the subject; and in our future articles we shall lay before them a brief statement of those causes which render the Society of Antiquaries almost useless, and the title which it confers upon its members little else than a bye-word and a reproach: we shall afterwards suggest such improvements in its constitution and management as will tend to restore it to its proper character and respectability. As, however, the Society will renew its meetings before we shall be able to return to the subject, we think it necessary to inform such of its Fellows as did not attend on the night it adjourned, that no measure was then proposed for adoption at the first meeting of the next session which in any way affects the credit or dignity of the Society, or which would require house management and manœuvring to get introduced on the statutes; a fact which peculiarly distinguishes the session of 1826-7 from that of the preceding.

COMMISSION FOR THE PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS IN THE STATE PAPER OFFICE.

The eyes of the Antiquarian world, or, we may more truly say, of every one interested in the history of his country, have long been directed to the Commission issued by the commands of his Majesty, for the publication of the most important of the archives preserved in the State Paper Office. With but few exceptions, the documents in that repository are wholly unknown; and when it is remembered that it contains the official papers of the state

for several centuries, the high expectations which are entertained can scarcely be disappointed. As yet, we believe, not a line has been sent to press: hence the remarks, which we are induced to submit on the subject, will not be too late should they be deemed deserving of consideration; and though they may wear the appearance of personal hostility, and even of disrespect towards the individuals selected for the execution of the King's commands, we conscientiously deny that we are actuated by such feelings.

The Commissioners are, the Speaker, Mr. Peel, Mr. Watkins Wynne, Mr. Croker, and Mr. Hobhouse, the keeper of the State Paper Office: Mr. Lemon, the deputy-keeper, is the secretary; and the assistant or second secretary is Mr. Robert Lemon, junior, the son of that gentleman. We were desirous of giving our readers the contents of the Commission, and of commenting on the specimen which, we learn from a provincial newspaper, has been printed, of the manner in which the documents are to be published; but our efforts to see either have been fruitless. We are thus left to speculate on the intentions of the Commissioners; but as any observations we could offer on that point must be unsatisfactory, we shall merely submit some remarks on the simple facts in our possession; namely, that such a Commission exists, and that such are the names of the individuals appointed to execute it.

It is known to every one that the State Paper Office contains a collection of official papers so extensive, that to print the whole would be almost impossible, whilst, even if it were practicable, a great part are, comparatively speaking, both useless and uninteresting. All then which can be published is a selection of the most valuable; and it is to the fact that a *selection* is to be made that our comments refer. We are not likely to be contradicted by those who are capable of judging, when we assert, that to *select* the most important historical documents from a mass, one hundredth part of the extent of that in the State Paper Office, demands a combination of qualities which we fearlessly say is not possessed by one of the members of the Commission, or by the whole body. It requires, first, a profound knowledge of the history of the extensive period which the documents embrace; not merely of the principal events, but of the agency by which they were accomplished, and of the biography, we had almost said even of the genealogy, of all the leading and inferior personages of the times: secondly, a perfect acquaintance with all similar papers which have been published, and which the Commissioners will, perhaps, be surprised to hear, are so numerous, that they not only fill upwards of two hundred volumes, but that it would be almost impossible to make a correct catalogue of them: thirdly, time, industry, and research, which

neither the Commissioners nor its Secretary, for he too has other duties to perform, can possibly devote to the subject.

To be aware of what is new to the world, a knowledge is necessary of what has already been given to it; and though we are far from thinking that any man in existence possesses all the information to which we have alluded, seven persons could not have been selected to whom literary men are more unwilling to ascribe it, than to the Commissioners and their officers. It is an anomaly confined to England to appoint persons to perform a literary undertaking who are wholly unknown to literary fame, and unaccustomed to literary labours. With the same zeal for learning which has ever distinguished his present Majesty, the moment he was aware of the existence of important historical documents, he commanded them to be published; leaving it, of course, to others to select the persons who should carry those commands into execution: and who have been chosen for the purpose? The best historians, the most intelligent antiquaries, the most eminent biographers, men the most distinguished by their works on similar subjects, or famous for their historical researches? No. But, a foreigner would ask, if the Commission is not wholly formed of such men—if statesmen and other official personages are included—does it not contain many literary characters? The answer again is, No. Surely, however, he would observe, the individuals actually intrusted to make the selections and to edite the work are men of high literary reputation, and more particularly celebrated for their historical investigations? The answer is again, No: there is but one person connected with the Commission who is at all known as a literary man; and however eminent he may be as a reviewer and a poet, he is, we believe, new to historical inquiries. Nor is this all. If the Commissioners were as well qualified by their acquirements as we take the liberty of thinking they are deficient, what time have they for the performance of the task they have undertaken? At the moment the Commission was issued, every one of them had far higher duties to engage his attention, and will any person believe that the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the President of the Board of Control, the Under Secretary of State, or the Secretary of the Admiralty, can find time, even had they the necessary information and disposition so to do, to read through piles of dusty letters, in a manuscript scarcely legible? The idea of their undergoing such drudgery is ridiculous: and to whom then are we to look for the publication of these documents, in a manner creditable to the country, and worthy of the expense which will attend it? Is it to the secretary? We speak of that gentleman with the respect which his long services, his zeal, and his merits deserve: by his indefatigable though ill-

rewarded exertions, he has done much to reduce to order the chaos by which he was surrounded, and he has consequently brought to light several curious articles; but we are convinced that he does not even ascribe to himself the information which we hold to be absolutely necessary for the objects of the Commission. Allowing however that he was so qualified, he has the whole duties of his office as under-keeper to attend to, and which are more than sufficient for any individual. Is it then on the second secretary that the responsibility rests?—Of him too we are disposed to think kindly; but assuredly he is not exactly the person on whose judgment and acquirements the public are inclined to rely. To what, then, we may be asked, do our remarks tend? Simply to this; that as we employ tailors to make our coats, shoemakers to make our shoes, and every other artisan to perform what relates to his particular trade, it appears to us no less necessary that the persons selected to execute a task requiring a minute and critical knowledge of history in its most extensive sense, should neither be statesmen nor ministers, secretaries nor under-secretaries, keepers nor under-keepers; but men whose time has been exclusively devoted to such subjects; whose historical and antiquarian works are identified with the literature of their country; whose reputation justifies the belief that they will only select what is new and important; and whose remarks on the different articles printed will be alike distinguished by liberal and enlightened views of past events, and by a profound knowledge of the circumstances and persons that may be alluded to. Whether such hopes can be entertained from those to whom the objects of the Commission are at present intrusted, we leave our readers to judge *.

We know not if it be the intention of the Commissioners that the documents they may cause to be printed are to be illustrated by notes. Under other circumstances we should consider them indispensable; but as the Commission is now formed, we sincerely hope they may be omitted. In that case the only blunder it can commit, will be, to print useless articles, or to repeat "a twice-told tale;" but if they attempt to illustrate, they will, in all probability, not only commit themselves, but give erroneous interpretations to points of historical interest, which, coming from a government-commission, will, in the eyes of the multitude, possess an adventitious, but dangerous authority.

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* We are of course aware that neither Mr. Peel nor Mr. Hobhouse are now in office; but we shall be extremely astonished to find that either of these gentlemen employs the leisure which he may possess among the dust of worm-eaten letters and state papers, even if, which, as we have already said, we seriously doubt, his studies and inclinations suited him for the task.

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A ridiculous effect has attended his Majesty's commands, with respect to the publication of the documents in the State Paper Office. Until lately, an application to the Secretary of State for permission to copy any letter preserved in it was almost always granted; but we are told that the Duke of Bedford was recently refused a transcript of a few articles he wished, because "it was probable that those letters might form part of a selection of state papers now preparing for publication; and ought not, therefore, to meet the public eye in the mean time." In the name of common sense—if we do not invoke what is unknown in the regions whence this reply came—what has such a contingency to do with the question? The only object with which those documents are to be printed is, to give to the world the information which they contain; and if that object can, to any extent, be attained *immediately*, by allowing a person who, for a literary or other purpose, asks to transcribe them, it appears to us little less than folly to refuse it, upon the grounds which have been assigned. We can perfectly understand, that an author, jealous of his fame, or a bookseller, jealous of his pocket, might be unwilling to permit any part of the contents of a work to be known, until it came before the world properly dressed and ticketed; but these reasons cannot apply to the property of government. It seems, however, that all access to these records is denied, until it suits the Commission to send forth its "selections:" when this may be, no one can guess; so that, if an author wishes to benefit by any paper in that repository, he must wait until it has either been introduced or rejected by this distinguished *literary* Commission; and thus, until that moment arrives, the admirable intentions of his Majesty are made to repress, rather than to extend, historical information.

Our readers may be assured that we shall keep a vigilant eye on the proceedings of this Commission, both because it ought to accomplish much, and because we have the utmost distrust of official institutions for literary purposes; a distrust which is fully warranted by many acts of the Commission for the publication and preservation of the Public Records, and still more by the extraordinary anomaly which has been committed in the appointment of the Commissioners, and their officers.

ADVERSARIA.

BANNERS of the Knights Commanders, and Plates of the Companions of the Bath in Westminster Abbey.—A Correspondent has inquired of us why the banners of the Knights Commanders, and the Plates containing the styles of the Companions of the Order of the Bath, have not been placed in Westminster Abbey, agreeable to the provisions in the London Gazette, declaring the enlargement of the Order, in January, 1815?

Although we confess our inability to solve what has always struck us as an extraordinary mystery, being thus called upon, we cannot refrain from offering a few remarks on the subject. Not only did the government pledge itself that this distinction should form part of the honours attached to the new classes of the Order of the Bath, but each officer upon whom the cross was conferred has actually paid for his Banner or Plate; and we are informed, that the sums received for that purpose, and for a copy of the Statutes, amount to some thousand pounds. This happened in the majority of cases nearly thirteen years ago, and not a Banner is yet suspended, a Plate fixed, or a copy of the Statutes issued *. The interest must form no trifling sum; but what has become of it, or of the principal, the persons thus mulcted know not. The money, however, is, comparatively speaking, a trifling consideration: they naturally and justly consider, that to have their ensigns and names placed in that splendid edifice, would be a far more permanent and gratifying distinction than the personal decoration, or any other privilege attached to the Order. But how many of those heroes have died before that promise has been fulfilled, if indeed it will ever be performed. Upon this subject we feel warmly. As antiquaries and as Englishmen, we are anxious that what may be called our Temple of Fame should contain the memorials which were intended to adorn its walls: we therefore call upon his Majesty's ministers to see that the spontaneous engagement of their predecessors be immediately fulfilled; and thus prevent our gallant defenders from being any longer defrauded of their money and their rewards. The deceased members of the Order are also entitled to have their names and services commemorated, not only because they have paid the expenses attending it, but for the gratification of their relatives; even if respect for their merits does not cause it to be done.

We propose, at no very distant period, giving an article on the Order of the Bath; and if measures are not in the mean time taken to carry into execution the objects for which the Crown is pledged, and the individuals have paid, we shall then be obliged to lay before the public an exposé of facts, names, and anecdotes, which will redound as little to the credit of the parties implicated, as of a government which can

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* A further sum was paid by each member of the Order "for recording the statement of his services in the books appropriated to the Knights Commanders and Companions." Whether this has been done or not, we have no means of ascertaining.

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suffer so disgraceful a transaction. That his Majesty is ignorant of this fraud upon those whom he has honoured with the Order, we have strong grounds for believing; and it is not necessary for us to anticipate what may be the manner in which he will evince his royal displeasure on the occasion.

ANTIQUARIAN DISCOVERIES.—It may be known to a few persons, that a "History of Glastonbury Abbey" was published about a year since, by the Rev. Richard Warner. Of the singular sagacity of its reverend author a correspondent in the last number of the Gentleman's Magazine has given a memorable example, which we notice because it serves as a parallel story to that of Aiken Drum's Lang Ladle in "The Antiquary." It appears that Mr. Warner took it into his head that the greater part, if not all our conventual, cathedral, and parochial churches, "were literally and strictly built by *free* masons;" and in corroboration of his extraordinary hypothesis, he added the following note:

"Something like a confirmation of the truth of this notion is seen in the emblems of free masonry which decorate the northern and southern entrances into the ancient church of Banwell, in the inside, particularly the bust of a man over the latter portal, supported by these symbols, with a book open before him, as if he were studying the rules of his art." Mr. Urban's correspondent says, that, in the years 1812 and 1813, that church underwent some repairs, when one of the workmen, who happened to be a free mason, amused himself "by erasing two antique corbal heads from the doorway of the south entrance, and carved upon the faces of the blocks those very symbols of masonry which Mr. Warner alludes to, and which now appear there." The bust which that gentleman describes as the "bust of a man," his corrector informs us is the bust of an angel "with an open book certainly; but the back or covers thereof are placed against the breast of the figure, and the open part or leaves towards the spectator; so that, if he is 'studying,' he holds the book in a most extraordinary position for such a purpose. On the open leaves of this book the same person has also engraved the emblems of masonry." That a layman should be a better judge than a clergyman of the heads of "angels," is sufficiently astonishing; but that a man, who has written a huge quarto, should consider a person to be "studying" the volume which he holds with its back towards him, is a specimen of discernment perhaps unequaled in the history of topographers. Besides these splendid proofs of Mr. Warner's accuracy of observation, his corrector, who has evinced his own sagacity by calling the book containing these blunders "a very valuable work!" also states, that this "bust of a man" does not stand over the *southern* entrance, as the author has asserted, but over the *northern*; a slight mistake in the knowledge of the points of the compass, which any ploughboy would have corrected. We believe, that immediately after the appearance of the "History of Glastonbury," its author was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; but whether as a matter of course, because he wished to be so, or as a special reward for the research he displayed in finding such indisputable evidence of his free-mason theory, we are not informed.

LONDONIANA*.—London, for some ages before the Reformation, contained an extraordinary number of religious edifices and churches, which occupied nearly two-thirds of the entire area. Independently of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Abbey at Westminster, the following Friaries and Abbeys existed immediately prior to that epoch: Black Friars, between Ludgate and the Thames; Gray Friars, near Old Newgate, now Christ's Hospital; Augustin Friars, now Austin Friars, near Broad-street; White Friars, near Salisbury-square; Crouched, or Crossed Friars, St. Olave's, Hart-street, near Tower-hill; Carthusian Friars, now the Charter-House; Cistercian Friars, or New Abbey, East Smithfield; Brethren de Sacca, Old Jewry.

Priories.—St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell; Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, on the scite of Duke's-place, and near Aldgate; St. Bartholomew the Great, near Smithfield; St. Mary Overies, Southwark; St. Saviour's, Bermondsey.

Nunneries.—Benedictines, or Black Nuns, Clerkenwell; St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street; St. Clare's, Minories; Holywell, between Holywell-lane and Norton Falgate.

Colleges, &c.—St. Martin's-le-Grand; St. Thomas of Acres, Westcheap; Whittington's College and Hospital, Vintry Ward; St. Michael's College and Chapel, Crooked-lane; Jesus Commons, Dowgate.

Hospitals, having resident Brotherhoods.—St. Giles's in the Fields, near St. Giles's Church; St. James's, now St. James's Palace; Our Lady of Rounceval, near Charing Cross; Savoy, Strand; Elsing Spital, now Sion College; Corpus Christi, in St. Laurence, Pountney; St. Papey, near Bevis Marks; St. Mary Axe; Trinity, without Aldgate; St. Thomas, Mercer's Chapel; St. Bartholomew the Less, near Smithfield; St. Giles, and Corpus Christi without Cripplegate; St. Mary of Bethlehem, on the eastern side of Moorfields; St. Mary Spital, without Bishopsgate; St. Thomas, Southwark; Lok Spital, or Lazar, Kent-street, Southwark; St. Katharine's, below the Tower.

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* The articles which will be inserted under this designation were written by the late Mr. William Hamilton Reid, with a view to publication, under the title of "Illustrations of Ancient London, or Neglected Antiquities; including occasional remarks upon the customs, characters, and manners of former times." It will be seen that Mr. Reid's collections were made with considerable industry, and some skill; and though his papers do not, perhaps, often contain much original information, they concentrate a variety of facts relative to the Metropolis, from scarce books and traditions, which, in the unpretending form they are here inserted, will, it is expected, afford some amusement to the general reader, even if they do not attain the higher object of increasing the stores of antiquarian literature. It is scarcely necessary to add, that, with but few verbal corrections, they will be given in Mr. Reid's own words; and consequently, that the statements they contain must be considered to rest entirely upon his authority.

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Fraternities.—St. Nicholas, Bishopsgate-street; St. Fabian and St. Sebastian, or the Holy Trinity, Aldersgate-street; St. Giles, Whitecross-street; The Holy Trinity, Leadenhall; St. Ursula-le-Strand; Hermitage, Nightingale-lane, East Smithfield; Corpus Christi, St. Mary Spital; the same, at St. Mary, Bethlehem, and St. Mary, Poultry.

The archiepiscopal and episcopal residences were, Lambeth Palace, York-place, or Whitehall; Durham-house, Strand; Inns of the Bishops of Bath, Bangor, Chester, Llandaff, Worcester, Exeter, Litchfield, and Carlisle, all but one in and near the Strand; Bishop of Hereford's Inn, old Fish-street; Ely-house, Holborn; Bishop of Salisbury, near Salisbury-square, Fleet-street; Bishop of St. David's Inn, near Bridewell-palace; Bishop of Winchester's-house, Southwark, near St. Mary Overies; Bishop of Rochester's Inn, adjacent thereto; besides the numerous residences of Abbots and Priors, mostly called Inns: not a vestige of any of the latter is however now known to remain.

A person unacquainted with the history of London might conclude that it had been a mere city of priests and monks, rather than a commercial one; but it is evident, that the dissolution of the monasteries, and the subsequent increase of wealth and trade, has improved the condition of all ranks, by diffusing the comforts and conveniences of life through channels never opened before. Better roads and better buildings soon succeeded the "foul ways" and miserable thatched dwellings that had, for a long time, disgraced different parts of the metropolis. Birchin-lane, in the heart of the city, at one time contained more than a score of these hovels; and Billiter-lane became proverbial for the boldness of the beggars that occupied it, and constantly annoyed the decent passengers. The first act of parliament for the pavement and improvement of the city, was passed in 1540, temp. Hen. VIII., which described the streets to "be very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, as well for all the king's subjects on horseback as on foot with carriages." The streets first paved, under the statute, were Aldgate High-street, Shoe-lane, Fetter-lane, Gray's-Inn-lane, Chancery-lane, and the way leading from Holborn-bar towards St. Giles's in the Fields, as far as any habitations on both sides of the said street.

The next act for paving London referred particularly to Chiswell-street, Whitecross-street, Golden-lane, Grub-street, Long-lane, St. John's-street, from Smithfield-bars up to the Pound; Cow-cross from the said bars; the way leading without Temple-bar westward by and to Clement's-Inn-gates, and New-Inn-gates to Drury-place, and that stretching to the sign of the Bell at Drury-lane end; the bridge, called Strand-bridge, and the way leading thither from Temple-bar; and the lane called Foscue-lane, leading from the garden and tenement of the Bishop of Litchfield, called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strand-bridge; all which are stated to be "very foul, and very necessary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt savours and occasion of pestilence." It is evident, from this act, that the streets, afterwards named Butcher-row, Holywell-street, and St. Clement's were not then built. Holywell-street must have been so called from its proximity to St. Clement's Well, at which many miraculous cures were

supposed to have been performed. Some writers consider this well to have been in St. Clement's-lane, which, at least, must have been one of the avenues to it. At this time, Golden-lane was literally a green avenue, between cottages and gardens. Whitecross-street derived its name from a conduit which stood there, surmounted by a white cross. Chiswell-street was an open road, between detached wooden houses, shaded with trees, which was probably the case, likewise, with Beech-lane. Bishopsgate-street without was also in a considerable degree composed of detached wooden and brick houses, with trees intermingled, and standing at a distance from each other. About this era some fresh supplies of water were conveyed to the city from the springs near Perilous-pool, near the City-road, since called Peerless pool, Hackney, Muswell-hill, Hampstead-heath, and St. Mary-le-Bone; and in 1546 new conduits were erected in Coleman-street and Lothbury.

Prerogative Office, Doctors' Commons.—Although it was our intention, at no distant period, to notice the manner in which this office is conducted; the general tone of insolence which prevails within its walls; and the innumerable annoyances to which persons making searches there are subjected, we did not expect to have been so soon assisted in our views by a sufferer. The statements in the following letter we know to be strictly true; and we earnestly hope, that the complaints of our intelligent correspondent may reach the ears of those who have the power to remedy what is little short of a public nuisance, and a public disgrace. The daily press has already alluded to the subject; and we shall speedily recur to it.

"Let it be supposed," our Correspondent observes, "that a poor and illiterate man be interested in the contents of a will: he goes to the Prerogative-office, and commences operations, by paying his shilling, for leave to search, that is, if the day he has been able to appropriate to this purpose does not happen to be one of the holidays, of which this office requires less, and keeps more, than any other in London: in that case, he must either return re infecta, or pay 3*s.* 6*d.* His money obtains him access to the calendars or indexes, and if the name he is looking for happens to begin with any of those letters, abhorred by index-makers and index-readers, B, C, S, or W, &c., he will, for every year his search may extend through, have to pore over thirty or forty folio pages of names, written in a character that is probably as legible to him as the Sanscrit alphabet. Now, a fortnight's labour per annum of one of the half-starved clerks of this establishment would be sufficient to arrange their indexes by the second letter; and thus bring all the wills of the same name together. But this would produce no pecuniary benefit to the officers, though it would save much valuable time to the public; and it is consequently not thought of*. To render the indexes generally legible, by writing them in good round hand, instead of engrossing text, would not add a farthing to the ex-

* We believe that it was once proposed to be done by a member of the office; but it was decidedly opposed by his colleagues. Why? —they only can explain.

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pense of transcribing them; but this again would not put sixpence into the pockets of the registrars. If the poor and illiterate searcher in question cannot read the indexes himself, he must give another shilling or two to one of the under clerks to do it for him.

"Suppose the will found: again occurs the difficulty of reading it: to the illiterate man the court-hand, even if well written, probably renders it a sealed book, and he must again recur to his shilling, and get a clerk to read it to him. Even the professional man, accustomed to engrossing hand, may find all his skill baffled by the execrable scrawl, and literally be obliged to refer to the original will, at the expense of another extra shilling.

"But the will is now read, and found to apply to the case, and hence a copy is wanted. The applicant must immediately deposit the larger portion of the fees for such copy, and is probably told to come again for it in about four days; if he wants it sooner, he must pay '*expedition*-money,' to obtain in twenty-four or thirty-six hours what would not occupy one of the ill-paid clerks of the establishment as many minutes to write. At length he gets his copy, which is attested to have been examined by the three deputy registers. Here an unsophisticated applicant would suppose his expenses and his troubles ended, but no such happiness awaits him; he has, it is true, no more to pay, but he soon learns, that the three deputy registers have never read one line of the paper they have *attested* *; and that, if he wishes to have an accurate transcript, he must examine it himself.

"Having at length procured his copy, and paid for it, let us suppose our poor searcher lays it before his attorney, is encouraged to proceed, and this will is to be made evidence in court. The copy is of no use in this instance; the *original* alone can be produced: and here comes the most crying imposition in the whole practice of the office. Although there is already a recorded copy of every will in large folio volumes, too heavy to be stolen, and so carefully kept that nothing short of an earthquake or another fire of London could endanger their safety; although the will itself is not suffered to go beyond the walls of the office, but in the custody of one of the clerks of the establishment, whose fees and conduct-money must be previously paid; the applicant now finds that he must again pay for *another* copy of the same will, to be deposited in the office, as security against the possible chance of their own clerk losing the document intrusted to his care. Whether this cautionary copy be always made, may perhaps admit of some doubt; but whoever is unfortunate enough to be admitted to these prerogativian mysteries will find it must, at least, always be paid for; and sometimes, when for instance both parties in a suit require the production of the same will, twice over.

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* To this disgraceful fact we can bear positive testimony. On the only occasion on which we had a copy of a Will, there was an error in the date of one hundred and fifty years, though the names of three persons occurred to it, testifying that they had examined that transcript with the original!

"Private remonstrances against abuses of this nature are worse than useless; they only serve to expose the complainant to the impertinence of underlings, and the jeers, if not the enmity, of the higher powers. The broad glare of publicity alone can scare the obscene birds from their feasts of peculation."

Henry the Fourth, in February, 1401, terminated a quarrel between Sir Thomas de Erpingham and the Bishop of Norwich in the following manner. The king came to the parliament, where the bishop was in his place, and Sir Thomas sat between the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick. After noticing the dispute, at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other bishops, abbots, and priors, Henry commanded Erpingham and the bishop to take each other by the hand, and to *kiss each other;* "on which the said archbishop rose from his seat in parliament, and took the bishop by the hand from his seat, and also took the said Sir Thomas by the hand, and there, in presence of the king and his lords, made them take each other by the hand, and kiss each other, in sign of perpetual love between them in all times to come."—Rolls of Parliament, vol. iii. pp. 456-7.

NOTICES OF BOOKS LATELY PUBLISHED.

Early Prose Romances, edited by William J. Thoms.—We notice with much satisfaction this reprint of the popular literature of our ancestors; and we sincerely hope that the undertaking may meet with the success which it deserves. It is not the mere antiquary who is gratified by being able to procure those romances which were once the mental recreation of society, and unquestionably form part of our national literature; but the general reader, who is possessed of the least curiosity, will gladly become acquainted with what may be termed the "Waverley Novels" of their day. Still more, who is there that is not anxious to peruse the sources of many of the nursery tales which amused our childhood, and on which we consequently reflect with feelings of affection? "Robin Hood and Little John," for instance, are names endeared to us by a thousand associations; and who can resist reading the history of their exploits? On the deductions which may be made from those "Romances," with respect to the manners of the times when they were written, and the evidence which they afford of the intellectual attainments of the age in which they were so highly appreciated, we have not now the opportunity to speak; but we are fully convinced that an attentive perusal of those pieces may be attended by far more important results than the amusement of an idle hour, for which however they are eminently calculated. Five have now appeared: "Robert the Devil;" "Virgilius;" "Thomas of Reading;" and "Robin Hood:" and "George a Green;" "Tom o' Lincoln;" "Dr. Faustus;" "Knights of the Swan;" "Gesta Romanorum;" "Friar Rush," &c., will follow.

These works are neatly printed in 8vo., and are published in monthly numbers: thus, for a few shillings, a "Romance" may be obtained, which a short time ago many pounds would not have pro-

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cured, even if it could have been purchased at any price; for some of them have been reprinted from unique originals. The Editor has done little besides giving an accurate text, and prefixing a few remarks, chiefly of a bibliographical nature; but his observations are always sensible, and he evidently brings to his task much information and zeal. Shall we be accused of absolute heresy if we suggest to Mr. Thoms, that he would have rendered the reprint infinitely more pleasing, if he had so far deviated from the originals as to have altered the u into v, and *vice versa*, a change, by the by, warranted by the strongest reasons; and what we are sure will weigh much more in his opinion, by the example of our profoundest black-letter antiquaries. To retain this absurdity borders much on foolish pedantry, and is seldom done in the present day by those whose taste and judgment are deserving of respect. It is not every person who will recognise "Robert the Devil," as "Robert the Deuyll;" or at once understand seuen, moued, &c., in a work abounding in obsolete words.

Historical Index of the Principal Battles in England and Wales, 8vo. pp. 32.—If this tract had been compiled from the best sources of information it would be a most useful companion to historical and antiquarian researches; but its value cannot be very great, when all the statements in it are derived from Rapin, Hume, and Goldsmith. The plan is not a bad one; and if the compiler will carefully revise his book, throw Rapin, Hume, and Goldsmith aside, and consult every writer contemporary with the respective periods, the "Fœdera" and other undoubted sources of information; if, after copying what is said respecting the date of each battle by the different authorities to which we allude, he will then examine conflicting assertions, and adopt those which he can prove to be correct, he will render a most acceptable service to antiquarian literature. At present we cannot rely upon his pages, because we do not place any confidence in either of the works from which they are taken. The editor's acquaintance with the names of the distinguished personages he mentions is sadly imperfect, for he often attributes a baptismal name to a man, which was, in fact, the surname of another person; and thus confounds two individuals with one; for example, p. 9, "Arundel Comyn," who were clearly separate persons, the one called Arundel, and the other Comyn; and we not unfrequently meet with names which never existed, as the *Duke* de Tany for Luke de Tany, p. 10. The use of such an Index is most stupidly lessened, by its omitting to notice those battles fought by the English in France, as Cressy, Poictiers, &c. But we have already bestowed too much attention on this tract, which, in its present form, is of no other use than as a sort of index to the volumes from which it was compiled.

CREATIONS OF HONOURS, APPOINTMENTS, &c.

From the London Gazettes, from the 4th to the 18th September.

September 4.—At the Court at Windsor, 3rd September, 1827, the Right Honourable William Huskisson was sworn one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and the Right Honourable Charles Grant was appointed President of the Council relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations.

September 7.—September 5, Letters Patent were directed to be passed appointing the Right Honourable Frederick John Viscount Goderich; the Right Honourable John Charles Herries; Francis Nathaniel Conyngham, Esquire, commonly called Earl of Mount-Charles; Edward Granville Eliot, Esquire, commonly called Lord Eliot; the Right Honourable Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and Edmund Alexander M'Naghten, Esquire, Commissioners of the Treasury. Also, for appointing the Right Honourable John Charles Herries Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer. Also, for granting to the Right Honourable Charles Grant the Office of Treasurer of the Navy.

—— September 3, James, Earl of Fife, and Francis, Earl of Moray, nominated Knights of the Thistle.

September 18.—September 17, Robert Cotton St. John, Lord Clinton, appointed one of the Lords of His Majesty's Bedchamber, in the room of Lord Graves, resigned.

—— September 17, Letters Patent were directed to be passed under the Great Seal granting the dignity of a Marquess of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the Right Honourable William Harry, Earl of Darlington, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Marquess of Cleveland *.

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* The noble Earl probably selected the title of "Cleveland" in consequence of his representing the extinct Dukes of Cleveland. King Charles the Second, on the 3rd August, 1670, created his mistress, Barbara Villiers, the daughter and heiress of William, second Viscount Grandison in Ireland, and wife of Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, Baroness Nonsuch, in the county of Surrey, Countess of Southampton, and *Duchess of Cleveland*, with remainder to two of her natural sons by the King, Charles Fitz Roy, and George Fitz Roy, who was created Duke of Northumberland in 1674, but died s. p., and to the heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotten, respectively. The Duchess died in 1709, and was succeeded by her eldest son, Charles, who had been before created Duke of Southampton. He had issue, three sons: William, his successor in his honours, Charles, and Henry, who both died s. p.; and three daughters, Barbara, who died unmarried; Grace; and Ann, who was the wife of Francis Paddy, Esquire, and had issue.

Grace, the Duke's second daughter, married Henry, first Earl of

—— September 17, a Congé d'Elire, ordered for the election of a Bishop of Carlisle, void by the death of Dr. Samuel Goodenough, late Bishop of that See: and his Majesty recommends the Honourable Doctor* Hugh Percy, now bishop of Rochester, to be elected Bishop of the said See of Carlisle.

Darlington; and on the death of her brother William, second and last Duke of Cleveland, s. p., in 1774, her son, Henry, second Earl of Darlington, the father of the present Marquess of Cleveland, became one of the representatives of that family. It is an extraordinary fact, that the attainder of the celebrated Sir Henry Vane should never have been reversed, though his son was created a Baron, his great-grandson a Viscount and Earl, and his great-great-great-grandson a Marquess. The only individual on whom the title of Cleveland has been conferred, besides Barbara Villiers and her descendants, was Thomas, fourth Lord Wentworth, who was created Earl of Cleveland in February, 1626; but it became extinct on his death, s. p. m., in 1667.

* If any where, it would be expected that titles should be properly applied in the "London Gazette;" but even these official papers are not free from blunders. The title of "Honourable" ought never to precede that which is derived from a situation: thus, Dr. Percy's correct description is "Doctor the Honourable Hugh Percy;" for that prelate is not an "Honourable Doctor," though, as the son of an Earl, he is the Honourable Hugh Percy.

Works in the Press or preparing for Publication.

"No. XI. of the late Mr. C. Stothard's Monumental Effigies, consisting of Plates faithfully etched by an able artist after his Original Drawings, is at length completed, and will be published by his Sister [query, widow] Mrs. Bray, early in the ensuing Spring."—We are sincerely glad of this announcement, because we are anxious that one of the most beautiful and useful antiquarian works which have ever appeared in this country should be completed; and because we are spared the painful task of inserting some very severe, but just, remarks which have been sent to us by "A Subscriber," complaining of the delay which has occurred. We entreat those with whom the power rests to take care that this important publication be completed in a manner worthy of its lamented author, of whose great talents and indefatigable zeal it will form an imperishable monument. With the utmost respect for Mrs. Bray, we flatter ourselves we may be forgiven for expressing our hope that the words "published by" do not imply that that, or any other, lady purposes editing the remaining parts. Not one quarter of the letter-press has yet been supplied to the numbers which are published; and to do justice to the plates, antiquarian knowledge of a far higher degree is required than any which we can with truth attribute to the fair authoress in question. Our anxiety that so valuable a work may not be utterly ruined has alone prompted this ungallant remark.

Nearly ready, a new edition of The Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight, by his Grandson, Cresacre More. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

Historical Tablets and Medallions, illustrative of an improved System of Artificial Memory, for the more easy Remembrance of Remarkable Events and Dates, designed and arranged by J. H. Todd.

Illustrations of Bedfordshire, grounded on Lysons, with a more extensive and general reference to original authorities.